INDIA.

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Indiana.

I have read with a good deal of astonishment the Parliamentary paper containing the despatch from the Secretary of State to the Government of India on the subject of holding simultaneous examinations for the Civil Services, and minutes recorded by members of the Council of India. One naturally expected, of course, that these gentlemen, saturated as they are with the rankest officialism, would have some protests to make. But instead of protesting in the faint and feeble terms becoming to their position and importance, some of them have essayed to thunder against the Government in a way that reminds me of nothing so much as the story of George Stephenson and the "Coo." This, for example, is the sort of thing which Sir J. Peile permits himself to say:

> "It is a mere confusion of thought to suppose that justice requires us to make the way of the natives into the English recruited service easy. By entering it thus, they will not become Englishmen or acquire the special qualities of Englishmen. When a business man invites tenders for a limited quantity of an article of a certain quality, does he even give notice that he will equally accept a different article of a quality which will not answer his purpose?"

Perhaps Sir J. Peile will inform an ignorant world by what process he hopes to turn natives into Englishmen. It is, he will find, a much more difficult thing than begging his questions.

Sir A. Lyall, Sir A. Arbuthnot, and Sir J. Strachey write in much the same vein. The mere fact that such minutes are compiled and are thought worthy of record is a significant commentary upon the stage which officialism has reached in India. A more impudent attempt to set up an "imperium in "imperio" I have never seen. The authors of the attempt only succeed, for the present, in making themselves supremely ridiculous, but if they persist they will find that it is bad for them as it was "bad "for the Coo." A cloud, no larger perhaps than a man's hand, has appeared above the horizon, but the storm which such reactionaries encourage will be fierce and terrible if it breaks.

One word more and I have done with them. They write as if the proposed institution of simultaneous examinations will give the death blow to the present system of administration in India. Sir J. Strachey, who condemns the scheme as "the climax of ab- "surdity, for it is nothing else," says that it "pro- "mises to revolutionise in its most essential condition "the policy under which India has hitherto been "governed." Sir A. J. Arbuthnot regards it as a "most dangerous" proposal, "and one which, if it "were carried out, would be fatal to the efficiency "of Indian administration." And Sir A. Lyall declares that "it could not be adopted without "reversing fundamentally the principles upon which "appointments to the Indian Civil Service have "hitherto been regulated, and throwing into con- "fusion all the arrangements that have been made "to that end." Now, these worthies may believe all this high-falutin' nonsense. I very much doubt

if any other man, woman, or child will believe it. But, even if it were true, what then? Has the present administration done so well for India that there is no room for a change for the better? No, when the Government have brought the masses of the people to the brink of starvation and themselves to the verge of bankruptcy, they have no claim for tender treatment. A new broom, however inferior, could not do worse.

Numerous letters from correspondents in India testify to the widespread satisfaction with which the success of Mr. H. W. Paul's resolution has been received. I need not say that I have read these congratulations with the greatest pleasure. Want of space alone prevents me from making excerpts which would indicate the feeling of the various districts, but the following communication from an esteemed correspondent in Bombay may be taken as a typical example: "All India is rejoiced at the "success which attended Mr. Paul's motion. All "the leading organisations are preparing themselves "for a demonstration in support of the resolution. "Of course, the Trojans here and at the India Office "will fight hard to nullify its effect. Lord Salisbury "may gibe and sneer and denounce the Radicals for "their encroachment on the powers of the Execu-"tive. It is all party vituperation which, we feel "convinced, will have no effect on our destinies. "The march of educated public opinion on this "question among Englishmen will eventually force "this privilege, which is our birthright, from our "rulers."

"What we are most gratified at," my correspondent continues, "is the number who voted for "the motion. Eighty-four is just one-eighth of the "House. To get one-eighth to advocate simul-"taneous examination is indeed no mean success for "the Indian party there. Mr. Paul deserves our "highest thanks. To Mr. Dadabhai the success "must be a source of the highest satisfaction, "labouring as he has done for the last thirty-three "years in this direction, almost unaided till within "the last few years." My correspondent's surmise is well-grounded. The triumph of the resolution has been a source of the keenest gratification to our first Indian M.P. It was, of course, by the merest accident of the ballot-box that the motion so ably moved by Mr. Paul did not fall to Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji. But the latter had at any rate the distinction of "telling" for the resolution, and the House of Commons could not fail to see his intense delight on being handed the paper recording the victory of the principle for which he has worked with indefatigable industry during so many years.

The English press has published during the month reports of various meetings held in India to support the resolution in favour of Simultaneous Examinations for the Civil Service. Such meetings are, I hardly need say, of great value as proving as well to the British public as to the Government of India that Indian public opinion is strongly set in the direction of the proposed reform. Hardly less significant, on another side, is the temper of the officials themselves. A correspondent tells me that "it is "thought that the Government of India will, by "procrastination, help the British Government to "shelve the matter. The Government of India," he adds, "have already signified their intention of con-"sulting the local governments; but if they really "mean business such things can be accomplished in "a short time. The Government organs, too, are "attacking the Indian party and trying to create a "division in the country, not to speak of their "devising all sorts of plans to avoid giving effect to "the resolution." Such tactics are only so many indications of the progress of reform, and one of the surest ways of frustrating them is to focus in public meetings the sentiments against which they are directed.

The fatuity of the methods adopted by the enemies of native claims is in keeping with the best traditions of partisan controversy in this country. The *Pioneer* of Allahábád has succeeded in imagining a bitter racial feud between the Hindus and the Musalmans on the ground that the Hindus will carry away most of the appointments to which the system of simultaneous examinations is expected to lead. Still more childish and more discreditable is the course pursued by the *Englishman* of Calcutta. It is consoling itself with the thought that Mr. Gladstone is a "veteran Parliamentary hand" with one foot in the grave. I notice a curious lack of originality in the methods of reactionaries. Here in England the enemies of justice to Ireland have, with characteristic good taste, been speculating on the death of Mr. Gladstone as a final blow to the movement they detest. It is as idle to say to such Englishmen as it is to the *Englishman* of Calcutta that the fortunes of just and necessary reform have never depended, and can never depend, upon the life of an individual, however zealous and however prominent he may be. They belong to the inherent nature of things—to that incalculable, invisible, but uncontrollable tendency in rational beings which, in Mr. Matthew Arnold's phrase, "makes for righteousness".

Signs are not wanting to show that the "Coo" is in immediate peril. As one among many of these satisfactory indications, I may mention a Bill which

has just been prepared by Sir W. Wedderburn and other members of the House of Commons interested in Indian reforms. Under the old system—prior, that is to say, to 1858, when the Government of India Act transferred to the Crown the powers previously exercised by the East India Company—there occurred at least once in twenty years a favourable opportunity for something like equity on the part of the Governors of India. For the charter of the East India Company, as is pointed out in another column, was granted only for periods of twenty years.

Under the new system these opportunities have been successfully removed. The powers vested in the Crown are permanent, and there are no seasons of renewal to provoke liberality. Now it was precisely at these seasons that, under the East India Company, the native population succeeded in wresting their most valuable boons. And though these periodic lapses into fair dealing have now ceased, the superintendence of Indian administration by the Directors of the East India Company—abolished in theory—has been perpetuated in practice under the name of the India Council. The Bill which I have mentioned seeks to restore the balance—partly by abolishing the India Council, and partly by providing for a general stock-taking of the administration of affairs in India at least once in every twenty years.

On Friday, July 14th, Sir William Wedderburn was fortunate enough to draw first place in the ballot for motions. He gave notice that on August 11th he would call attention to the excessive civil and military expenditure in India and move a resolution. The following is the text of the motion: "That a Royal Commission be appointed to make "full enquiry and to report on the administration of "India, with special reference to the military and "civil expenditure; such Commission to include a "fair proportion of representative Indians, and to "take evidence in India and in England."

In connection with this resolution I may remark that an amendment very much to the same effect was moved by Sir W. Wedderburn when the resolution on the suppression of the opium traffic in India was recently under discussion in the House of Commons. The dangers which have to be guarded against in any such act of suppression are well known to everybody acquainted with the Government of India. An immense curtailment of revenue would inevitably ensue, and the officials, under whose tender mercies the masses of India have been reduced to beggary and the country almost to insolvency, would cast about for some new source of income. It would be the same old story. No policy of retrenchment would be pursued, but the poor man's ewe lamb would be taken from him. That is a consummation which is certainly not to be wished, and fortunately for India, Sir W. Wedderburn's amendment was incorporated with the resolution. Whether any practical reform will accrue in consequence remains to be seen; but at any rate the principle is recognised that side by side with the curtailment of the revenue derived from the opium traffic there must be a complete overhauling of gross official extravagance, so that the cost of being moral may not (as has hitherto happened) fall solely upon the shoulders of the poor.

I hear from India that Mr. George Russell's reply to Sir William Wedderburn's question upon the Nagpur Memorial has, as was to be expected, provoked extreme dissatisfaction throughout the Central Provinces. It will be remembered that the Memorial, adopted at a public meeting, protested against the exclusion of the Central Provinces from the right to recommend a representative to the Supreme Legislative Council under the Indian Councils Act. Sir William Wedderburn pointed out that the Viceroy's Council enacted all laws for the ten million inhabitants of the Central Provinces, and that the right of recommendation had actually been granted to provinces which had legislatures of their own.

Mr. Russell replied that the Government of India had decided that "simple nomination, guided by consultation with the persons best qualified to give advice" was the best means of securing representation for the provinces which had no legislatures of their own. There is a charming vagueness about that phrase "the persons best qualified to give "advice." As an indignant correspondent remarks, it is not known who these persons are to be. They may all be officials, and even if they are non-officials "it is an open secret that very few of such gentle-"men as can really speak out the sentiments of the "people visit the officials." And what of the mode of consultation? My correspondent thinks that when an official asks his visitors whether a particular person is suitable for the Council the tendency will be to "mark the tone of the question and answer "accordingly," at peril of never being consulted again. This may be so, though I should have hoped for a little more backbone on the part of the persons consulted. The truth is, of course, that the whole arrangement is a mere pretence, and that Mr. Russell's answer amounts to something worse than a flat refusal. Public opinion can have no effect upon unknown advisers, and a counterfeit

appearance of sympathy is but one degree worse than naked officialism.

I may add the following very pertinent suggestion from the same correspondent: "When the Govern-"ment is prepared to be guided by 'consultation "with the persons best qualified to give advice,' "why should not the Government constitute these "very persons into an electorate? There ought to "be no difficulty in doing this. When the Central "Provinces Government has allowed all its muni-"cipal committees but one, all its district committees, "and all its local boards to elect their own Presidents "and Vice-Presidents, and when the Government "has never had any fault to find with these elections "or their consequences, it is inconceivable that the "Central Provinces Government could not create an "efficient electorate if it were asked to do so." In other words, as the copy-book heading puts it, where there's a will there's a way. Unfortunately the will has so far been sadly to seek.

The following question, in the name of Sir W. Wedderburn, appeared on the notice-paper for July 17th:—

"To ask the Under Secretary of State for India, in appointing the Indian members of the Opium Commission, what means will be taken to secure the services of men who will truly represent Indian public opinion:

"And whether the Government will consult public bodies and associations in India with a view to selecting representatives who enjoy the confidence of the Indian community."

Now, the art of putting questions in the House of Commons is the art of gilding the philosophic pill. One has to frame his sentences with delicate skill so that they may not offend the delicate susceptibility of the Treasury Bench. It follows that the real point of the question is to be read between the lines, and I take it that what Sir W. Wedderburn wished to know was whether the Government intended to follow the usual practice of packing the jury with Jo-Hukum-Wallahs to misrepresent the people whose spokesmen they purport to be.

Mr. George Russell's reply was a dexterous paraphrase for "Yes." Here it is:—

"It will be a part of the duty of the Commission to ascertain the feeling of the people of India with regard to the subjects specified in the resolution of the House of Commons, and this will necessarily be done *by the taking of evidence* rather than by attempting to represent on the Committee *the numerous races and sects into which the population of India is divided.* Every effort will be made to carry out thoroughly the resolution of the House of Commons, but the Secretary of State is not at present in a position to make any statement with regard to the composition of the Committee."

Precisely. But the neatness of the reply deceives nobody. The words which I have italicised put the official view into a nutshell. The Committee will, of course, take evidence; but the Government will see that the Committee does not contain members of such independent public bodies as, for example, the British Indian Association at Calcutta, the Bombay Presidency Association, or the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha. Such members might suggest evidence which it is more convenient for the Government to overlook. And the Government's excuse is that India is split up into races and sects—in other words, that there is no Indian pnblic opinion! It is the old maxim of despotic rulers, "*Divide et impera.*" Such is the treatment which India receives from official figure-heads controlled by the India Office. And the worst of it is that the Jo-Hukum-Wallahs—the master's men—will be sailing under false colours.

Referring to Lord Northbrook's attack on the Home Charges, a correspondent writes from Bombay: "Much as we are gratified at his Lordship's "speech, it is greatly to be wished that something "practical may be done by Parliament. After the "authoritative expression of opinion in the House "of Lords, the task of having a Parliamentary "Committee appointed to inquire thoroughly into "the whole question is imperative. Not only should "the question of rendering India financial justice in "matters military be taken up; the question of "paying all future salaries and pensions in silver, "and of converting into silver our sterling loan and "railway guarantee obligations needs also to be well "considered."

It would be hard to find a more scandalous example of iron-handed officialism in practice than the case of Mr. M. M. Murzban. Mr. Murzban was, until recently, Assistant Traffic Superintendent of the State Railways in India, and, after eight years' service, was ruthlessly discharged with three months' notice, not for any misconduct nor for inefficiency, but simply and solely because a reduction of establishment was deemed necessary, and Mr. Murzban had the misfortune to be a Native and not a European. It would be well if the British public realised the iniquitous practices of this kind which flourish in India in their name. There were eight officers junior to Mr. Murzban. But they were Europeans, and therefore the reduction of establishment was not permitted to affect their careers.

The Under Secretary for State frankly admits that Mr. Murzban was not dismissed for misconduct or inefficiency, but, in official phraseology, he and his political advisers "see no reason for re-opening the "question, or for directing the re-employment of "Mr. Murzban by the Government of India." No adequate answer is made to the serious complaint that Mr. Murzban was dismissed without an oppor-

tunity of speaking in his own defence. He had been strongly and repeatedly recommended for promotion by his immediate superiors, and each of the two European traffic managers under whom he served bears witness to his competence. All this does not count where the high-handed policy of weeding out natives in order to make room for Europeans has to be fulfilled. Yet Mr. Murzban was one of the only two native officers appointed to the traffic department since 1879, as against twenty-two European officers!

I have received an interesting account of the proceedings at the fifth anniversary of the Nagpur Goraksani Sabha. The opponents of the practice of killing cows have contrived to give quite a Herodotean flavour to the description of their mystic celebrations. I quote the following extract:

"A spacious pandal was erected for the purpose on the site of the old palace grounds. Proceedings commenced on the morning of the 14th, when the cows stabled in the temporary Goshala near Sangam were led in a splendid procession through the main roads of the city to the Mandup. The procession consisted of elephants, camels, horses, and bajawalas. It was accompanied by a numerous concourse of people of different castes, creeds, and colours, who, with banners flying and music playing, were giving full expression to their devotion to the Cow by hailing her name in loud acclamations of joy and veneration."

This passage may give my English readers some notion of the respect in which the Cow is held by a vast number of native Indians. But the anniversary was not solely a matter of procession. The assembled multitudes resolved, *inter alia*, to petition the Government of India to prohibit by enactment the slaughter of cows and female calves, and to take an annual census, through the Local Governments, of all horned cattle. Fidus.

NOTES FROM CALCUTTA.

I have received the following from an Indian correspondent.

THE EXTENSION OF JURY TRIALS.

The efforts of Mr. Paul and the Indian party in Parliament in the above direction have been attended with some success. The Government of India moved in the matter. They have referred the subject to the Local Governments and high officials for their opinions. We can easily surmise what official opinions will be, and what value should be attached to them. It is thought that further pressure will have to be put by Parliament on our somewhat Whiggish, so-called Liberal, leaders to secure the desired end. The Indian people here are convening meetings in important towns and adopting memorials to the Government praying for the extension of jury trial in non-jury districts (the jury districts in Bengal are only eight out of 46 districts) and also to other offences now not cognisable by juries.

REPRESENTATION IN THE PROVINCIAL COUNCILS.

The optimist in Indian politics thought when the new Indian Councils Act was passed that the millennium had at last come. Little did he expect to be disillusioned so shortly after the Act had come into force! The Indian officials have a greed for power, and they stoutly oppose any measure which proposes to take away from them even a semblance of it. The so-called representations in the Provincial Councils by the people, of the people, have been made far too limited to be of any importance and usefulness, by rules and regulations. But the Indian officials are jealous of even that little. It is, I think, considerations such as the above that led the Government of India to recommend the following rule as regards official non-interference with the few elections or recommendations by the people to the Councils:

"In Rule VII. we have declared that officials "shall not be eligible for recommendation." (Government of India's Despatch.)

The Secretary of State vetoed this recommendation. Perhaps his lordship conceived that a sense of decency would prevent the officials from scrambling for the few seats thrown to the people. In Bengal, in spite of official influences brought to bear upon the Patna Division and Calcutta University elections, the people have elected their own representatives, and the result is the elections of the Mahárájá of Darbhanga, Messrs. W. C. Bonnerjee and Surendra Nath Banerjea and Lal Mohun Ghose. In Bombay, however, Mr. Panse of Her Majesty's Indian Civil Service has been actually elected. And in the North-West Provinces the Deputy Commissioner of Lucknow, Mr. Mulock, got himself elected as a delegate from the Lucknow Municipality, and had his own man, Babu Sri Ram, a Public Prosecutor, elected in the Council of Delegates, defeating Mr. Hamid Ali, the people's man, purely by the exercise of irresistible official pressure.

THE CRIME OF COLOUR.

In India, notwithstanding the propensity of the magistrates to convict and rigorously punish Indians, the same officers undergo a complete change when trying an European fellow subject. Private John Rugby kicks an Indian punkha coolie to death, and he is fined Rs. 100. Guard Price is accused of outraging the modesty of an Indian Rájput woman, and is acquitted, and the judge trying the case admits having charged the jury in one direction, that is, with a strong bias for the accused. Lieutenant Kennedy tampers with public documents when the magistrate trying the case is absent; but no action is taken against him, although Mr. Justice Trevelyan characterised his conduct as "most reprehensible," and remarked that "had it been any other man, he would have "been prosecuted."

A ROYAL COMMISSION ON INDIAN ADMINISTRATION.

It has been a subject for general congratulation for all interested in Indian questions that the Anti-Opium party should have so frankly adopted the doctrine that a great Royal Commission should be appointed to examine the present condition of our administration in India, and should have made its appointment part of their platform. But we want the help of more than one party; we need to rouse the whole current of public opinion on this subject. When once the reasons for it are put clearly forward and the advantages of such a general inquisition are made manifest, the British people will be the first to acquiesce in the demand. We are essentially a business people. We understand the use and meaning of a "general stock-taking" better than any race in Europe. And if it can be shown that such a measure is feasible and has been productive of advantage in the past, and also is equitably demanded in the present, while it commits us to no changes or alterations, it will commend itself to all sober British intellects.

There has been no great general inquiry by a responsible body of independent Commissioners into the methods of Indian administration since the last renewal of the East India Company's Charter in 1853. Sketches of that administration have been published by many non-official writers; and in Hunter's "Indian Empire" we have what from the wealth of official documents placed at the author's disposal may almost be called a semi-official account of its history, intentions and work. But this is a very different matter from the report of a Commission, which should aim at examining witnesses of every class and grade in order to investigate every intricacy of the system of government, and to overhaul the entire structure. It must be remembered that while England has its general elections and France its revolutions, when a sort of national stock-taking is taken, nothing of the sort is possible in India any more than it is in Russia. The administrative machine in both empires is constantly being patched and mended, possibly improved, perhaps damaged; but no searching periodical examination is ever taken into the condition of the whole working of the machinery. This is bad for every sort of machine; for unless a thorough testing is occasionally made, there is a danger of a sudden breakdown in some unsuspected quarter. In an administrative machine it is particularly dangerous. For there is a special peril lest a groove of routine be created, which may be as fatal as rust in machinery. In despotic and bureaucratic empires all seems to go well, until some terrible explosion shows that the ystem has been outgrown, and it breaks up with a earful crash, which we call a revolution. This has not happened for two centuries in England, because the machinery is constantly being re-welded and re-adapted for its purposes, and changes are being constantly introduced by the action of the governed, who feel where alteration is needed, and who make their wishes felt at general Parliamentary elections It is otherwise in India. Changes are occasionally made, but always by the governing powers, and not suggested by the governed. In a vast country like India, where the people is diverse and largely inarticulate, it is peculiarly necessary that a thorough investigation of the machinery should periodically be made by unbiassed parties entirely unconnected with the Indian Government, alike competent to enquire and fearless to report their conclusions. And what body could be found for this purpose better than a Royal Commission, consisting of ripe statesmen and administrators, who have not been employed in India, but who can weigh evidence and form an unprejudiced judgment.

In demanding the appointment of such a Commission of Inquiry, Sir William Wedderburn, in the amendment he drew up, which has since been incorporated into the Anti-Opium Resolution, demanded no new thing. And it is of value to call to mind the history and results of previous general inquisitions, as showing the lines which might be followed, and emphasizing the profits which resulted from them. When, after the victories of Clive, the Honourable East India Company changed from a commercial to a ruling power, the English nation, through its representatives in Parliament, resolved to intervene and to claim its right to control the procedure of the Company. This it was perfectly justified in doing; for it was English royal troops which had turned the balance in favour of the English as against the French in Southern India; it was English royal fleets which had gained the control of the Indian seas. By the Regulating Act, passed in 1773, Parliament deliberately handed over the administration of English interests in India to the Honourable East India Company, under certain conditions, such as the appointment of the Supreme Court of Judicature at Calcutta, not definitely or for ever, but for a term of twenty years. The twenty years elapsed in 1793, when the Company's Charter came up for renewal, England was then preparing for her long struggle with France; Henry Dundas, the right hand man of the prime minister, William Pitt, was President of the Board of Control, and on his recommendation the Company's Charter was renewed for a further period of twenty years with but slight modifications. In 1813, the twenty years having elapsed, an elaborate Parliamentary Inquiry was held to consider whether the Company's Charter should be renewed, and if so, upon what terms. The Company's servants not unnaturally argued that the then government of India was the best that the wit of man could devise, and desired an exact renewal of the existing Charter. But a strong body of opinion had grown up in England against the Company's monopoly of the Indian trade, and the English merchants formally protested against the continuance of the monopoly. The Directors of the East India Company urged that the Company would be ruined, if it were deprived of its commercial privileges, and that it would be unable to carry on the work of government if it lost its monopoly. Nevertheless, the English merchants prevailed. The Company's monopoly of the Indian trade was abolished, and it was forced to confine its energies in India to the work of administration; but its monopoly of the China trade was continued as

affording a lucrative subsidy to induce the Company to maintain its work in India.

In 1833, when the Company's Charter came up for renewal for the third time, the great Reform Ministry of Lord Grey was in office, and Parliamentary Committees were appointed to examine into the way in which the great Company had carried out the work entrusted to it. The elaborate evidence taken by these Committees was published, and it affords a veritable storehouse of information on the mode of administration pursued at the time. Parliament, after full consideration, resolved to renew the Charter, but with important modifications. The monopoly of trade with China was abolished, and the Company became solely a governing body, and ceased to be a commercial joint-stock company. The interest on its stock was fixed and guaranteed. Still more significant were the changes introduced into the spirit and system of its government. A fourth Presidency at Agra, which became the Government of the North-West Provinces was founded, and a legal member was added to the Governor-General's Council, who was to be a sort of minister of justice, and add a fresh non-official element to the administration. It was also specifically declared that Indians were eligible for administrative office, whatever their caste, creed, or race.

In 1853 was held the last great Parliamentary Inquiry into the administration of India, prior to the last renewal of the East India Company's Charter. Great and sweeping changes were now made. The Directors were reduced in number from twenty-four to eighteen, and their patronage to appointments in the Civil Service was abolished to make way for the competitive examination system still in force. The Lieutenant-Governorship of Bengal was created, and the Company's Sadr Courts in the Presidency towns were amalgamated with the Supreme Courts. This was not all; the Company's Charter was not renewed for twenty years, but only for as long as Parliament should see fit. And four years later, after the cataclysm of the Mutiny, the direct administration of India was assumed by the Crown.

There is no need to dwell on the successive changes, which were the results of the periodical inquiries into the administration of India. At each inquiry the Company's officials declared the government of the Company to be the best of all possible governments, and that the slightest alteration would mean the downfall and extinction of the English supremacy in India. Yet after each inquiry great and sweeping changes were made, which have since been acknowledged as improvements, and in spite of the croakers the whole fabric of government did not break down. What has occurred before may occur again. All change will of course be deprecated as ruinous, yet as sweeping changes remain to be made to bring the administration into harmony with the altered condition of the country and its people as have ever been made before. Even if no change be made, it would be good for the Queen-Empress's servants in India to render an account of their stewardship, as it was good for the Company's servants to do so in years gone by.

The Government of India is in this dilemma. If its administration is as perfect as it believes, why should it shrink from an impartial inquiry by a competent Commission, the result of which would be to establish its perfection? If it is not perfect, surely it should be glad of hints for its reformation. In either case it is the duty of the English people to insist on such a full enquiry. There is no third course open. Our administration of India is a source of just pride to every right thinking Englishman; he would wish his pride to be justified, and when the case is put clearly before him, he must see that forty years is a long period, in which many abuses may have sprung up, and that it is full time a thorough "stock-taking" were made.

THE LUCKNOW ELECTION.

Surely never was experience mare woefully thrown away by those officers of the Government of India, who had to draft the Rules which were, under Lord Cross's Act, to introduce the representative principle into India. It is a commonplace that secondary elections never fail to give opportunities for bribery, corruption and undue influence. The more the degrees of election, and the fewer delegates into whose hands the actual right of electing representatives is thrown, the more certainly is room made for a scandalous misinterpretation of the popular wishes. There is a well-known trick, common to all despotic countries, by which a semblance of popular government is preserved. By this trick large constituencies are permitted to elect delegates, who are entrusted with the duty of electing members of the legislative assembly. These delegates are but men; they are, to use a colloquialism, "nobbled" by astute officials, and they return accordingly, not the men of their constituency's choice, but the nominees of the government. Napoleon was particularly skilled in this method of procedure, and by it succeeded in obtaining obedient slaves as the representatives of France in his assemblies.

To come to facts. A seat has been allotted in the North-West Provinces' Legislative Council to the five District Boards of Lucknow, Bareilly, Faizábád, Agra and Meerut. Each Board chose an elector, and three Boards, those of Bareilly, Faizábád, and Meerut gave a mandate to their elector to vote for Mr. Hamid Alí Khán, of Lucknow, barrister-at-law, and a well-known Congress leader. On the other hand, another candidate was proposed, one Babu Sri Ram, possibly an excellent gentleman about whom we know nothing except that he is a public prosecutor, and therefore an official, and presumably, favourably regarded by the officials. The election was a certainty for Mr. Hamid Alí Khán, and the people of Lucknow among whom he has lived and worked as Vice-Chairman of the Municipality, were proportionately elated. But then a strange thing occurred. When the Bareilly delegate arrived at Lucknow, and was proceeding to take up his residence with Mr. Hamid Alí Khán, he was suddenly sent for by an official, whose name is not mentioned, and his baggage removed. On the following morning he "with tears in his eyes"—we quote from *The Advocate* of Lucknow—"informed Mr. Hamid Alí "Khán and his friends that owing to certain pressure

"which was brought to bear upon him he had "against his conscience decided, with the deepest "regret and reluctance, to vote for Babu Sri Ram." Accordingly when the vote was taken, Mr. Hamid Alí Khán was rejected for Babu Sri Rám; the wishes of the electorate of Bareilly were deliberately ignored; and a false election, which should at once be declared void, took place.

Now this case gives rise to many uncomfortable reflections. It is not our intention—despite our confidence in *The Advocate* of Lucknow—to enter further into the facts of it. There may have been other elements at work, of which at present we know nothing. But it seems absolutely certain that the wishes of the Bareilly electorate were not carried out by their delegate. What was the "certain pressure" brought to bear upon him should be a matter for the law courts, and the Government to investigate. But the whole system adopted is condemned by such a case being possible. The promise given by Lord Cross's Act is stultified, and the introduction of the representative principle becomes a farce. If this system of secondary election or election by two degrees is maintained, the boasted boon of representatives in the Legislative Councils will prove but a barren gift to the people of India, and their represention will be a sham and not a reality.

A SAD STORY AND ITS SEQUEL.

A sad tale comes to us from Haidarábád, Sind. A Hindu of the name of Mewaram, living in that city became a convert to Islám about April, 1891. His Hindu wife, Methibai, unwilling to embrace that religion, had left him with her children about February, 1891, and taken refuge at first with her brother, then with Mewaram's mother and brother. The first result of the conversion was a partition suit—the second, an application in the District Court by the convert to the effect that Methibai had betrothed and was preparing to marry two of his daughters to Hindus; that she should be restrained from so marrying them, and that under Act VIII. of 1890, he should be declared the guardian of all his children. It should be borne in mind that Hinduism is a non-proselytising religion, that a Hindu who becomes a Musalmán cannot again become a Hindu, and that a Hindu who dines or resides with a Musalmán loses his caste and is reckoned a Musalmán. Further, in order to understand the case, let the English reader suppose an Englishman who becomes a Musalmán in India, Persia, Arabia, or Turkey, and wishes to marry his minor English daughter (born when he was a Christian) to Musalmáns against the will of his Christian wife who has refused to change her faith. It was well-known in Haidarábád that Mewaram intended to give away his daughters to Musalmáns, and his application in the District Court caused, therefore, no small excitement. The District Court examined the eldest girl—a child of thirteen—(who, in its opinion was old enough to form an intelligent preference)—and ruled that as the minor was sincerely desirous of remaining a Hindu, and was likely to jeopardise her life rather than her faith, she should not be declared a ward of the convert. The youngest girl was only three years old, and she also was refused to the convert. The remaining children, a boy aged six, and a girl aged nine, were, however, declared his wards. The District Court had granted an injunction restraining Methibai and the convert's brother from marrying-off any of the children until the application under the Act of 1890 was disposed of. After it was disposed of, the convert asked for the possession of the two children awarded to him, but as Methibai proved that she had filed an appeal, and that if the children ever became Muhammadans they could not be made Hindus again, execution was stayed on her giving security that she would abide by the order of the Appellate Court. The convert had yet taken no steps to impugn the order relating to the eldest child and the youngest, and the injunction regarding them having ceased to operate, Methibai, on the advice of her counsel, celebrated the marriage of the eldest girl, who had been already betrothed. Usually Hindu children are married before twelve and the girl was thirteen years old. After the marriage the convert filed an appeal and, concealing the fact of the marriage, prayed for an injunction; but the fact came to light and the injunction was refused to him by the Appellate Court. At the final hearing of the two appeals, both the parties were represented by counsel whom they had paid very heavy fees in order to have the question of law settled. But the appellate judge (in Sind there is no High Court but only a Judicial Commissioner, whose decisions in appeal are final), taking advantage of a technicality, ordered the rejection of the convert's application under the Act of 1890, without settling the question of law or deciding the case on its merits. The Revenue and Police Commissioner, however—who is the executive head of the province,—in his reply to a Hindu deputation, thought fit to tell them that the convert was the natural guardian of his children, that it was his affair to give them what religious instruction he liked, and that the Hindu community was wrong in espousing the cause of the convert's Hindu wife and children. Emboldened by this unexpected pronouncement, the convert recently lodged a criminal complaint before the District Magistrate of Haidarábád, Sind, who is also the Revenue and Police head of the district. In this complaint he charged his own brother and cousin with having abetted the taking of his children by his wife *in February*, 1891, from his keeping and he further charged with kidnapping the husband of the eldest girl, and the father-in-law of the younger girl (who had been married off, by the advice of counsel after the rejection by the Appellate Court of the convert's application under the Act of 1890.) The District Magistrate, acting apparently on the opinion expressed by the Commissioner, issued warrants for the arrest of the four accused, and when two of them appeared before him—the husband of the eldest girl and the cousin—he refused to release them on bail, and had them handcuffed and tied with ropes, and taken to jail to await the inquiry which has to take place after ten days. As, however, the magistrate had to go on his tour he transferred the case to another magistrate, and on the day of hearing, this latter, after hearing

elaborate arguments, pro and con, released all the four accused on bail on the ground that the complaint disclosed no sufficient reason for believing them to be guilty. The law in British India does not allow a person accused of a non-bailable offence like kidnapping to be released on bail unless there are no reasonable grounds for believing him to be guilty. The case had not been decided when the last mail left, but the history of it, as given above, proves (*a*) That the law regarding bail is not satisfactory; (*b*) and that Act XXI. of 1850—an old Act which was passed, as its preamble shows, merely to secure to converts their proprietary rights, but which in its operative clause used the words "*rights or property*" and not "*rights of property*" stands in need of amendment, as its unfortunate wording has led to most deplorable results. The policy of the Legislature is clear not only from the preamble of the Act, but also from Act XXI. of 1866 which relates to the dissolution of converts' marriages, and from Act VIII. of 1890, which is now the general law regarding guardians and wards. Mr. Justice Amir Ali, in his work on the personal law of the Muhammadans, holds Act XXI. of 1850 to be inapplicable to personal rights, and his opinion ought to carry great weight with the Muhammadans. The debates on the Bills which eventually became Act XXI. of 1866, and Act VIII. of 1890, also prove conclusively that it was never intended to interfere with the personal laws, or the family customs of the Hindus and Muhammadans.

AN INDICTMENT OF THE MADRAS LAND REVENUE SYSTEM.

Mr. Alexander Rogers, late of the Bombay Civil Service, whose valuable work on the *Land Revenue of Bombay* was reviewed at length in the last number of India, read a paper on "Ráyatwári Settlements in Madras and Bombay," before the East Indian Association on 22nd June, in which he laid a most formidable indictment against the Madras Land Revenue system. His figures are so startling that it is difficult to grasp their meaning. If they be justified—and they are official figures, and Mr. Rogers is not likely to exaggerate—a state of things is revealed in Madras which calls for immediate enquiry. The notion that, in the course of eleven years, at least one-eighth of the agricultural population of the Madras Presidency was sold out of house and home for non-payment of land revenue is so monstrous that one is bound to hope Mr. Rogers may be shown to be wrong. It is full time indeed that attention should be drawn to the condition of the Madras peasant, and I hope that the members of the House of Commons who take an interest in India will take care that the Madras Government makes a speedy reply to Mr. Rogers' allegations. A question in the House would indeed be a good way of hurrying up the Madras Government, and would keep the India Office up to the mark. I quote Mr. Rogers' concluding paragraphs:

"I should not have been justified in speaking of the system of assessment in Madras as I have done if the state of land revenue matters there, as shown by the annual revenue reports, had not borne striking testimony to its failure. This has already been brought to the notice of the Secretary of State, and my letters have been sent for report to the Madras Government, so that I am betraying no official secret in now stating the grounds on which I have come to an unfavourable conclusion. It is quite evident that the land revenue as now assessed can, to a great extent, not be realized, and that considerable hardship is inflicted on the people in endeavouring to collect it. In the three years, 1887-88 to 1889-90, the latest for which returns have been received at the India Office, 64,435 defaulters in payment of current revenue (that is, of the current and not past years) have had sold personal property of the value of 2,76,611 rupees, in addition to the occupancy right of 87,114 acres of land. Of this land, when put up to sale, 39,849 acres had to be bought in by Government at a nominal price for want of bidders, and 47,265 acres were sold to others; that is to say, in round numbers, half the land at its present assessment was not found to be worth cultivating, for the agricultural population is dense enough to utilize it all if it were fairly assessed. In the same three years 2,126,625 rupees were remitted out of 14,30,87,503, and 4,399,549 remained as a balance outstanding at the end of the year, that is, about 14½ lacs the three years. In the same period 199,717 rupees were levied as notice and summons fees in cases of attachment of property and interest on arrears of revenue, in addition to the value of the property sold. In contrast with 64,435 defaulters thus sold up, rather over 6,000 were so in Bombay in the same three years.

"Taking the last six years, the occupancy right in 264,114 acres was sold for arrears of current revenue, and out of this area 120,842 had to be bought in by the Government in the absence of bidders. Taking the still longer period of eleven years, the property, personal and real, of 840,713 defaulters was sold by auction, the former fetching 2,959,906 rupees. The occupancy right was sold in 1,963,364 acres, of which the large proportion of 1,174,358 acres had to be bought in by Government at nominal prices. These eleven years run back to 1879 80, and the great famine occurred in 1876-7, so that the evictions noted are in no way traceable to that disaster, and can be looked on only as the ordinary incidents of a crude system of revenue settlement. These figures appear to me to tell their own tale, and require no comment. When in the course of eleven years about 3,250,000* of people, taking a defaulter's family at only four on an average, have been sold out of house and home, as they must have been to a great extent, it is surely time that an immediate remedy should be applied, and I have no doubt it will eventually be; but there is no reason why palliations should not be thought of for the intervening period. This is peculiarly necessary in the present condition of Indian finance, and I can see no reason why endeavours should not at once be made to bring into cultivation the lands that

* The agricultural population being about 27,880,000, this amounts to about one-eighth of the whole.

have been thrown out by lowering the 50 per cent. of the net produce that now constitutes the State assessment on the land to 40 or 30 per cent., and increasing the rayat's share to 60 or 70 as a temporary measure, pending a thorough revision of the system. It may here be mentioned that about the year 1827 a system somewhat similar was introduced into Bombay, and found to be such a complete failure that it was very shortly afterwards superseded by the present Revenue Survey system. The Madras Presidency, however, has not taken advantage of the experience thus gained in the neighbouring Province, with the result noted above.

"Let me observe that I in no way doubt the good faith of the Madras Government or of the India Office in the question; only it has so happened apparently that the figures reported in the Annual Revenue Reports have been looked on as a matter of course, and have not been analyzed and set before them in the light in which an expert in other rayatvári settlements at once sees them. It may be urged that the land revenue of the Presidency is nearly 4½ krores of rupees, and the sum of about 14½ lacs not collected by the end of the last three years commented upon forms but a small percentage of this sum, but the vast number of people affected by the evictions is the fact which, to my idea, should be chiefly considered. There is no reason why the experience of Bombay should not be utilized in bringing about a better condition of affairs, and we may have every confidence that, now that the true state of things has been brought to light, remedies will soon be applied.

"In conclusion, I may acknowledge that I have never been in Madras, and shall be only too glad if any member of the Madras Services, who may be present, is able to refute any of the inferences I have drawn from a study of the official records on the subject. My object is in no way to embarrass the Government, but to assist as far as lies in my power as a Pensioner of India in doing some good to its people, and thus render more firm the basis of British rule in that magnificent dependency.

"Among the possible remedies, I think a better arrangement of the instalments by which the revenue demands are collected might be made. There are twelve Collectorates in which they are demanded as early as the months of November, December, and January, which are too early if the object of payment by instalments is meant, as it should be, to prevent the necessity of cultivators having to borrow money before their crops ripen and can be harvested and sold.

"Since writing the above I have consulted, in the absence of the annual revenue reports, which have not yet been received at the India Office, the last Administrative Reports of the two Presidencies, viz., those for 1891-2, with a view to compare, as far as possible, the state of matters in them respectively with regard to area under cultivation, revenue, remissions, collections, and coercive processes resorted to for those cultivations.

"In Madras the total arable area is not given in the returns. Of the area in occupation, however (21,140,000 acres), there were under cultivation 17,820,000, and 3,320,000 waste, or about 84 and 16 per cent. respectively. In Bombay, exclusive of Sind, of the total arable area of 26,488,280 acres, as much as 25,282,670 were in cultivation—or at all events in occupation and paid for, leaving only about 4½ per cent. of arable land still without occupants, in contrast with 16 per cent. of the so-called occupied land in Madras, of which, to judge from the item of remissions, a large proportion could not have been paid for. I take such remissions only as were granted on account of the vicissitudes of the season, and find that whereas in Madras, out of a revenue of Rs. 37,532,240, a remission of Rs. 1,560,182, or 4·15 per cent., had to be given; in Bombay, out of Rs. 24,864,658, only Rs. 41,382, or ·016, were allowed. How do the realizations stand, however? At the close of the revenue year, in Madras there was a balance uncollected of 4·91 per cent., and in Bombay one of ·08, the actual figures in the former case being Rs. 2,694,325, and in the latter Rs. 233,901. Examining for the year in question into the particulars of the coercive processes on which so much stress has been laid in this paper, we find that whereas in Bombay the total number of distraints of property resorted to in collecting this revenue was 1,220 (the details of real and personal property not being reported), in Madras the property of no fewer than 10,115 defaulters were distrained upon. Of these, 5,011 had personal and 5,104 real property sold. The area of the latter amounted to 21,770 acres, and of this 9,346, or 42·9 per cent., were bought in on the part of Government for want of purchasers. All this confirms what has already been stated in the paper with regard to evictions, and convinces me that the system of land revenue administration in Madras requires immediate attention to be paid to it."

Documents.

The following Memorandum is circulated in order to show the most important practical grievances respecting which Indian public opinion prays for redress from the House of Commons. The Undersigned will be glad to communicate with Members desirous of further information on the points noted.

W. S. B. McLaren.
D. Naoroji.
House of Commons, C. E. Schwann.
21st July, 1893. W. Wedderburn.

MEMORANDUM

Of Urgent Questions, for Debate on the Indian Budget, 1893; *with a note of the Resolution passed in each case by the last Indian National Congress, held at Allahábád, Christmas,* 1892.

1. Royal Commission on the State of India.

The appointment of a Royal Commission to make full enquiry and to report on the Administration of India, such Commission to include a fair proportion of representative Indians, and to take evidence in India and England. An enquiry, with redress of grievances, is wanted similar to that which used to

be made every twenty years at the renewal of the East India Company's Charter. No such enquiry has been made for forty years, though the material condition of the mass of the people is now most deplorable, while the Indian Government is on the verge of insolvency.

2. LEGISLATIVE COUNCILS IN INDIA.

The inadequate effect given by the Government in India to the intentions of Parliament in regard to the Reform of the Legislative Councils in India.

Resolution I.—Resolved that this Congress, while accepting in a loyal spirit the Indian Councils Act recently enacted by the Parliament of Great Britain, as explained by the present Prime Minister with the assent of the then Under-Secretary of State for India, that it is intended by it to give the people of India a real living representation in the Legislative Councils, regrets that the Act itself does not in terms concede to the people the right of electing their own representatives to the Council, and hopes and expects that the rules now being prepared under the Act will be on the lines of Mr. Gladstone's declaration in the House of Commons, and will do adequate justice to the people of India, and prays that these rules, like other proposed legislative measures, may be published in the official Gazettes before being finally adopted.

N.B.—In spite of this prayer, the Rules were never published until they had been finally adopted. These Rules are not in accordance with the interpretation put upon the Act by the Prime Minister, and have caused profound dissatisfaction throughout India.

3. MILITARY EXPENDITURE.

(*a*) The need for a general reduction in Military Expenditure, which has increased enormously in recent years, such increased expenditure being required, not for the necessities of defence, but to enable the Government to pursue an aggressive policy beyond the Indian frontier.

(*b*) Equitable distribution of necessary military expenditure between India and Great Britain.

Resolution VII.—That having regard to the fact that the abnormal increase in the annual military expenditure of the Empire since 1885-86 is principally owing to the military activity going on beyond the natural lines of the defences of the country in pursuance of the Imperial policy of Great Britain in its relation with some of the Great Powers of Europe, this Congress is of opinion that in bare justice to India, an equitable portion of that expenditure should be borne by the British Treasury, and that the revenues of India should be proportionably relieved of that burden.

4. HOME CHARGES.

Disregard of economy in the Home Charges, *e.g.*, the India Office, Stores, Transport, Pensions, Furlough Allowances, etc.

5. COUNCIL OF SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA.

Abolition of the Council of the Secretary of State, such Council being secret and irresponsible, inconsistent with accepted constitutional principles, and in practice prejudicial to good administration.

6. THE ARMS ACT.

Amendment of the Arms Act, so as to allow the rural population to protect themselves and their crops from wild animals.

Resolution V.—(*f*) A modification of the rules under the Arms Act so as to make them equally applicable to all residents in or visitors to India, without distinction of creed, class, or colour; to ensure the liberal concession of licences, wherever wild animals habitually destroy human life, cattle, or crops, and to make all licences granted under the reserved rules of life-long tenure revokable only on proof of misuse and valid throughout the Provincial jurisdiction in which they are issued.

7. EXECUTIVE AND JUDICIARY.

The complete separation of Judicial and Executive functions.

Resolution III.—That this Congress seeing the serious mischief to the country arising from the combination of Judicial and Executive functions in the same official, once again puts on record its deliberate and earnest prayer that a complete separation of the functions has become an urgent necessity, and that in its opinion it behoves the Government to effect this separation without further delay, even though this should in some provinces involve extra expenditure.

8. CURRENCY.

The official scheme of the Government of India has been adopted without obtaining independent opinion in India, and without due consideration for the interests of the masses of the Indian community.

Resolution IV.—That having regard to the diversity of opinion that prevails on the currency question, and the importance of the subject, this Congress desires to express the earnest hope that unless its hands are forced by the action of any Foreign Power, absolutely necessitating a change in the currency or the standard, the Government of India will refrain from taking any steps until the labours of the Brussels Conference have been completed, and, further, that the Government will lay before the public for discussion the proposals which Lord Herschell's Committee may recommend before definite action, if any, is resolved upon.

N.B.—This prayer was not granted.

9. SALT TAX.

The high rate of the Salt Tax, now at about 2,000 per cent. on the cost of production, operates as an oppressive poll-tax on the poorest classes of the community, and requires to be enforced by severe fiscal laws which lead to harshness and cruelty in practice.

Resolution V.—That this Congress concurs with its predecessors in strongly advocating: (*a*) The reduction of salt duty by at least the amount of its latest enhancement.

10. INCOME TAX.

The smallness of the Income Tax taxable minimum, which includes incomes of Rs. 500, *i.e.*, at the present rate of exchange (1s. 4d.) incomes of £34 a year.

Resolution V.—That this Congress concurs with its predecessors in strongly advocating: (*b*) The raising of the Income Tax taxable minimum from five hundred to one thousand rupees.

11. ABKARI.

To introduce the principle of local option in the villages of India, and to provide that the excise policy of Government should not stimulate the consumption of intoxicants.

Resolution V.—That this Congress concurs with its predecessors in strongly advocating: (*c*) Persistent pressure by the Government of India on all Provincial administrations, to induce them to carry out in its integrity the Excise policy enunciated in paragraphs 103, 104, 105 of the despatch published in the *Gazette of India* of March, 1890, and the introduction of a simple system of local option in the case of all villages.

12. REFORM OF THE POLICE.

By adequate and improved organization to increase

the efficiency of the police and put down corruption, by inducing a more respectable and better educated class of men to enlist.

Resolution V.—That this Congress concurs with its predecessors in strongly advocating: (*e*) The fundamental reform of the Police administration, by a reduction in the numbers and an increase in their salaries, and in the qualifications in the lower grade and their far more careful enlistment, and by the selection for the higher posts of gentlemen of higher capacities more in touch with the respectable portions of the community and less addicted to military pretentions than the majority of existing Deputy Inspectors-General, Superintendents and Assistant Superintendents of Police.

13. Cantonment Acts.

To secure the enforcement of the House of Commons Resolution condemning the State Regulation of Vice.

Resolution XIV.—That this Congress is thankful that the House of Commons is vigilant in regard to the recent purity legislation by the Government of India, and desires once again to enter its protest against all State-regulated immorality in India.

14. Employment of Indians in the Services.

To secure the enforcement of the House of Commons Resolution directing Simultaneous Examinations to be held in India and in England.

Resolution II.—That this Congress records its deep regret at the resolution of the Government of India on the Report of the Public Service Commission. . . . . And this Congress again distinctly puts on record its opinion that full justice will never be done to the people of this country until the open competitive examination for the Civil Service of India is held simultaneously in England and in India.

15. The Land Question.

A Permanent Settlement of the Land Revenue and establishment of Agricultural Banks.

Resolution IX.—That this Congress emphatically reaffirms Resolution III of the Congress of 1891, and regard being had that fully fifty millions of the population, a number yearly increasing, are dragging out a miserable existence on the verge of starvation, and the fact that in every decade several millions actually perish by starvation, insists that the cost of administration in the military branch of the Public Service should be greatly reduced; and that measures be at once taken to give, as was promised by the British Government over thirty years ago, fixity and permanence to the land revenue demand, and thus permit capital and labour to combine to develop the agriculture of the country, which, under the existing system of temporary settlement in recent times—often lasting for short periods, in some cases only extending to ten and twelve years—is found to be impossible, and to establish agricultural banks. And this Congress again most earnestly entreats the people of Great Britain and Ireland not to permit any further sacrifice of life owing to the shortcomings of the existing doubtless well-intentioned, but none the less unsatisfactory administration, but to insist and speedily on the reforms then and now earnestly advocated.

16. Forest Laws.

A Public Enquiry with a view to remove the grievances connected with the practical operation of the Forest Laws.

Resolution X.—That this Congress entirely adopts the Resolution XI of the Congress of 1891, and reiterates its prayer, that having regard to the very serious discontents created, particularly in Peninsular India, by the practical administration of the Forest Laws, the Government of India do investigate this matter carefully and endeavour to mitigate the harshness of such administration, and render it less hard to the poorer classes.

17. Education.

To promote education in all branches.

Resolution VIII.—That this Congress is emphatically of opinion that it is highly inexpedient in the present state of education in the country, that Government grants for higher education should be in any way withdrawn, and, concurring with previous Congresses, affirms in the most emphatic manner the importance of increasing the public expenditure on all branches of education, and the expediency, in view to the promotion of one of the most essential of these branches, *i.e.*, the technical, of appointing a mixed Commission to inquire into the present industrial condition of the country.

Correspondence.

MR. WEBB'S RESOLUTION.

Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade.
Office: Broadway Chambers,
Westminster, S.W.
12th July, 1893.

Sir,—I shall be much obliged if you will give publicity to the following resolutions, which were unanimously adopted yesterday by the Committee of this Society.

Joseph G. Alexander, sec.

"1. This Committee thanks Mr. Alfred Webb, "Sir Joseph Pease, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, and the "other members of the House of Commons who "supported by their votes Mr. Webb's motion on "the 30th of June last, for the purpose of going to "a division, rather than consent to refer to a Royal "Commission, the question, already decided by the "House on the 10th April, 1891, whether the traffic "in opium ought to be abolished as immoral.

"2. This Committee accepts the appointment of "a Royal Commission to enquire into the whole "question of the relation of the Indian and Native "Governments to the trade, in the confidence that "any thorough and impartial inquiry can only lead "to a confirmation of the judgment pronounced by "the Special Committee of 1847, which declared "'the demoralising influences' of the trade to be "'incontestable and inseparable from its existence.'"

SIND IRRIGATION.

To the Editor of "India."

Sir,—In your last issue you published an article headed "Sind Irrigation," in which certain questions are asked; and as I think some of these questions should be noticed, not only because their object is to impute motives, but also because in them the Bombay Government is accused of wasteful expenditure in connection with the management of canals in Sind, I think it right, as I know that the accusation is unjust, to send you a few remarks on the article in question. You ask first: "Is it or is it not a fact "that, there being no perennial canals in Sind, all "that the Executive Engineers do is to see to the "clearance of irrigation canals and the erection and "repair of Government buildings?" There are not, it is true, many perennial canals in Sind, which

perhaps is fortunate, as another article in the same issue—"Irrigation and the death rate in India"—shows; but it is an absolute misstatement that, in consequence of this, all that the Irrigation Engineers have to do is to see to the clearance of irrigation canals and look after Government buildings. The clearance of canals is doubtless one very important part of the duty of these officers, as on the proper execution of this work depends the welfare of many thousands of cultivators; but in addition to this they have other equally if not more important duties to perform. Some of these I may mention. They have to see where new canals are required, and how such canals can be arranged for; to prepare plans and estimates for these; to carry out their construction when sanctioned, and arrange for the distribution of the water, etc., etc. These canals are not, be it remembered, petty works; but are works of great magnitude, requiring regulating bridges, to say nothing of numerous other bridges and miscellaneous works, all of which require careful supervision. But even were these new works not constantly being carried out, it is an entire delusion to suppose that clearance of silt is the only work to be done in connection with old canals. Most of the inundation canals have their mouths—that is, derive their supply of water—direct from the River Indus. Perhaps to the general reader this fact means little; but to those who know what the Indus during inundation is, it means a great deal. For not only is the river at such period an enormous size, being some miles in width in places, but it is constantly rising and falling, and flows very rapidly. Such a river, I need hardly say, is is not easy to deal with—its banks are continually being eroded and it is perpetually changing its course, at times as much as a mile or two during a single inundation; and at the same time it is constantly throwing up sand banks, and these not infrequently are formed across the mouths of canals and cut off the supply of water from them. When this occurs an immediate remedy must be provided, either by the construction of new mouths at spots not likely to be affected by erosion or by the sandbanks, or, if this extreme measure is not required, then by some minor operations to remove the obstructions. Work of this kind, if much useless expenditure is to be avoided, must be done with much care and judgment. I might refer to other similar duties, but do not wish unduly to lengthen these remarks.

But, besides the above works directly affecting canals, there are others only indirectly affecting them, but which are of equal importance, and which require much special knowledge and judgment. One such I will mention—namely, the erection and maintenance of the protective embankments which are required to protect the country from devastating floods. There are hundreds of miles of such embankments to be seen to, and these have to be carefully, and in places frequently, inspected by irrigation Engineers, in order that they may see where any embankment is threatened, and take immediate steps, either by the construction of loop embankments or in some other way, to render the embankments secure and prevent disastrous floods. I might multiply instances, but I think I have said enough to show that the writer of the notice to which I am referring knew little or nothing of the duties of an irrigation engineer, and enough also to show that the question asked, "Is it or is it not a "fact that "all this (the engineer's) work can be more cheaply, "and as efficiently done, by the ordinary native "surveyors?" must be answered by an emphatic negative. The native surveyors possess neither the knowledge nor the influence to enable them to carry out such works successfully.

The writer of the article also asks, "Is it or is it "not a fact that there would be more money avail- "able for canals if the establishment charges were "not so heavy?" To this I would reply (and my experience in Sind gives me some right to speak on this point), No, it is not a fact; it is probably directly contrary to fact, for the result of such unwise reduction would inevitably be that the state of the canals would deteriorate, and therefore the revenue would fall, and with its decline would fall the grant for canals. The question as applied to Sind canals is about as sensible as it would be if applied to British railways, and I would ask, Does anyone in his senses believe that if the heads of the traffic, permanent way, and other departments were reduced on the ground that their work could be done "more cheaply and as efficiently" without their supervision that railways would be managed and worked as well as they now are?

The other questions referred to, such as the percentage of revenue that should be credited to Irrigation revenue, and the manner in which fines for unauthorised cultivation, or, in other words, payment for water taken and land taken up without permission should be credited, are too technical to be discussed with advantage in India, but the idea that the percentage was fixed "in order to bolster "up the figures and to conceal the real deficit" of the Irrigation Department, is worthy of the critic who believes that all that the Irrigation Engineer officers have to do is to see to the removal of the silt from the canals in their charge. Why, may I ask, should not the percentage be ninety per cent? Without the water supplied from the canals there would be no revenue at all—for Sind is a rainless country, and there could be no cultivation without canal water. I much fear that the remarks in the article in India, from first to last, betray an *animus*, and that the real explanation of the attack on the engineer officers of the Irrigation Department is that they are Englishmen, not natives of India—the writer apparently forgetting that in Sind, natives of India are as much aliens as Englishmen are—while an ordinary native of India has absolutely no influence over Biluch Chiefs or zemindars or with the Muhammadan land-owners, who, in many parts, would be very unwilling even to meet or discuss matters with him.

The Irrigation engineers in Sind, working in one of the most trying climates in the world, have done and are doing admirable work—and I may add work that pays well—a fact that could not but be admitted by anyone who had seen, as I have, miles upon miles of desert converted, through new canals, into magnificent crop land, and no one acquainted with

facts could hold that the work done could have been done unaided by "ordinary native surveyors."

I remain, Sir,
Yours faithfully,
H. N. B. Erskine.
Late Commissioner in Sind.

"SOME FANCIFUL ECONOMIES."

To the Editor of "India."

Sir,—The following facts will illustrate the inconvenience and want of method which arise from the dual control exercised over public establishments in India by the Secretary of State and the Government of that country. Some years back the officers of the Telegraph Department who joined in the years 1868-72, found that their promotion was virtually blocked. The Secretary of State, acting under the advice of the Government of India, had sent out far too many men. Lord Dufferin recognized that a grievance did exist, and I believe that he recommended that some of the officers at the head of the list should be offered inducements to retire. The India Office, however, preferred to let go the men of the years 1868-72, who stood about the middle of the list, and who were comparatively young men, say from forty to forty-four years of age. So that the past few years has witnessed the retirement of something like twelve officers with pensions of £437 yearly (at the present rate of exchange, say, Rs. 582 monthly). Many of them were men of great ability, certainly of valuable experience, and would, if reasonable promotion had been granted to them, have remained in the service of the State. I was one of those who left, and before doing so I asked Government to utilise my services in some other branch, where the promotion I was justly entitled to could be given. The reply was in the distinct negative, although the record of my service was an excellent one, and the head of my department considered me to be a meritorious officer. Now comes the unhappy feature of the scheme. As soon as the retirements had taken effect the Government of India found that the older officers were gradually being superannuated, and they had not enough men. There was immediate need of five recruits in addition to the two expected annually from Cooper's Hill College. To meet the emergency three subordinate officers were promoted, and two assistants selected from Rurkí College. At the present moment an advertisement appears in the public journals for five temporary officers for the Indian Telegraph Department. It is presumed that two more will also at the end of the year be supplied by Cooper's Hill College. If these measures had led to monetary economy, though at the risk of efficiency, they might meet with public approval; but looking at the figures below it will be seen that not only has there been no present economy, but that to the officers (or some of them) who have gone, for the same extra expenditure that has been incurred, promotion could have been given, and that the Government has, in addition to the immediate expense, incurred more liability in the future for pensions and gratuities to the men from England who have been newly recruited, and those who will shortly go out.

Active pay of 10 superintendents who have retired, monthly	Rs. 8,500
Averages for next five years to replace the above.	Rs.
Pay of 3 subordinate officers promoted to higher rank, say	1,200
Pay of 2 officers appointed from Rurkí College, say	700
Pay of 2 officers from Cooper's Hill College, say	800
Pay of 3 officers appointed by Secretary of State on five year agreements (see public advertisements)	1,320
Total Monthly	4,020
Add 10 pensions of retired officers above at £437 yearly, or Rs. 582 monthly	5,820
Total	9,840

The fact is, that when the block in promotion was found to exist the senior officers should have been encouraged to retire, and the lower grades gradually filled with Natives and Eurasians, who, if facilities had been given in India for technical training, would have come forward in numbers. I might enlarge upon this point, but my present intention is to show that want of foresight has led to want of economy, and indirectly to loss in efficiency, and to a departure from the recommendations of the Public Service Commission, which were made some years ago in favour of employing indigenous talent in the Telegraph Department.

Publicanus.

London, 15th June, 1893.

BRAZILIAN *v.* INDIAN RAILWAY FINANCING.

To the Editor of "India."

Sir,—I see that strong opinions are being expressed regarding the action of the Brazilian Government in so manipulating a railway loan that about £1,000,000 sterling, ostensibly raised for the said railway purposes, is diverted to the ordinary national exchequer and spent upon the ordinary work of the country. This is effected by the sophistry of crediting the railway company with the proceeds of the loan at an arbitrarily fixed exchange of 20d., whereas the money has reached the hands of the Government at the actual exchange of about 13d., and the Government defends its action by the plea that, having guaranteed the whole loan and thus made itself liable in case the company should be unable to fulfill its engagements, it is entitled to charge the company for the use of its credit.

I take my information from the newspapers, and if I have correctly stated the case the "City" is certainly justified in using the strongest possible language on such a style of financing, but the "City" is apparently not aware that in thus acting the Brazilian Government is only, on a smaller scale,

copying the example of the British Government in an Indian railway case. For three Indian companies the sum of £16,730,622 sterling was raised a few years ago by the Secretary of State for India, and up to March, 1889, the differences appropriated by the Government for purposes having not the remotest connection with these railways was approximately Rx. 2,802,337, but whether the amount has been subsequently increased I am unable to say. The figures were published in the usual Government papers, with the differences euphoniously marked "gain by exchange," but, so far as I am aware, not a single newspaper or one M.P. took any notice of the transaction. Perhaps some one will do so now.

27th May, 1893. R. B.

CIVILISING THE VILLAGER ON AN EMPTY STOMACH.

Sahib salám, *cheree-meree*, whined a rugged old tramp, one morning, as I neared the mouth of a valley on a hill-station in India. Hungering for a few words with some uncivilised brother, some child of Nature unaffected by the arts, the culture and the civilisation of the town, I walked leisurely on, drawing my chance acquaintance after me into the valley, with his depressing drawl—Sahib salám, *cheree-meree* (Good morning, Sir, give us a present). Once fairly in, I looked the tramp in the face, and from his broad shoulders and grizzled beard, guessed he was a Mahratti Mussulman who might have seen better days, that is, have owned a few cows or buffaloes, with perhaps a patch of land and a thatcherie thereon—worth four or five pounds all told. This, you know, is quite a fortune in the eyes of our hill or forest tribes, an estate passing rich and productive for man and beast, and partly taxable under "the Revised Code," as myrmidons of the Forest Department will have it. But our hillside farmer had apparently been played out, or, may be, sold out under the stringency of some of the departmental rules abused by rapacious underlings.

"Why don't you work?" I asked the man abruptly, affecting surprise and indignation. "Where to "work?" he asked in reply. "In the fields, of "course," I put in. "But where is my field now?" he asked. "In the forests, then," I added. "In "whose forests," he asked again. "In the Sirkar's, "if there be no private forests hereabouts," I explained. To this he replied, "How can old people "go and work in the Sirkar's forests? The young "may work there, after a *bandobast* (private arrange-"ment) for *dasturi* (commission). For such as I am "there are no wages, and the way from the Sirkari "forests often leads to the Chowki (police station)." "Did the Rájá take better care of used-up fellows "like you?" I now asked. "Well," he replied, looking furtively around, "in those days the forests "were open to us and to our cattle. We could live "where we liked in them, and make or take what "fields we liked. No one bothered. And when "sometimes we did not get food enough from this "free labour, we could count upon *khichdi* (rice and "pulse cooked together) from the Rájá's stores." "But was there not greater zulum on the ryots in "those days?" I questioned. "Yes," answered "he, amalkars (men in office) will always practice "zulum on the poor out of the sight of the Rájá. "But the ryots had *plenty to eat always*." "Those "were days of *andher* (anarchy)," I now insinuated, "no roads, no wells, no scavengers. Think "only of these beautiful roads." "But what to "do with roads, *Mábáp*?" he inquired; "do they "fill this empty stomach?"—striking that cavernous organ to the sound of an equally cavernous dry laugh. In spite of its ludicrousness, the action was highly dramatic, with more of pain and passion in it than humour. But I continued, "These roads "give employment to the able-bodied; they allow "of the field produce and other things being carried "to dearer markets. They bring health, they bring "comfort to the villagers." To all this, and more, replied my sturdy old interlocutor: "The roads take "away our little stock of milk and honey, of grain "and corn and vegetable. They take away our "strength. Why were our fathers so strong and "long-lived, and why are we not?" "But surely the "jungle walas (forest officers) allow the poor to help "themselves to twigs and leaves and grass for their "own use?" I asked, anxious to divert the current of untutored pessimism, whose force was beginning to carry me before it. "Yes," he half admitted; "the "sirkar does so, but we are at the mercy of the "peon and the karkun. Last year my old woman's "sister was nearly put into the chowki on a charge "of having stolen sirkari wood. She was saved by "a Bombay wala shett." As this "Bombay wala" happened to be myself, the whole scene came vividly back to me—how a peon had got hold of a poor old crone carrying a bundle of fuel to the market. She was free to pick up those sticks, but was charged with having smuggled a largish piece from one of the Government depôts. A crowd of villagers hovered about to witness the struggle—the man bullying and abusing, the woman crying her eyes out in a dull, despairing, monotonous protest of innocence. The woman was half paralysed with fear. It was one of our children who first called the mother's attention to this scene, as we chanced to pass by. I was just in time to intervene, and insisted upon the piece of wood in question being identified as Government property. The peon was too stupid—perhaps he was too clever—to attempt this. Whereupon we got the woman off; and to soothe her ruffled feelings one of us slipped a bit of silver into her hand. This was a typical case. The villagers knew their neighbour to be innocent, but they dared not thwart the peon. He, too, probably knew the woman had committed no offence. But he wanted work to keep himself warm, and to justify his official existence to his own conscience. Having no honest service to do to the Sirkar, men of his class may be easily led into a show of energy and vigilance at the expense of those wretched victims who know not whither to turn for redress. The latter, ignorant and superstitious as they are, do not dread the demons and sprites of the forests, or the depredations of wild beasts, half so much as the visitations of these real demons of the Forest and the Abkari Departments, clothed with a fictitious authority

which there is none to control at such distances. The Abkari and the Forest and the Arms Acts of the Government are bad enough; but the rules made under these Acts, for irresponsible exercise by men of straw, are infinitely worse. It is the working of these rules that does the greatest mischief with the life and property of the subjects. Our political associations ought to organize vigilance committees, for districts and even for villages, to watch the operation of these rules, and especially their abuse.

Well, it rather tickled my vanity I confess, to be reminded of last year's rescue work, though my friend, the tramp, knew not why I beamed so benignant on him at the mention of his sister-in-law's misfortune. Resuming our conversation proper, I now treated him to the last argument, my reserve shot. "At any rate," I observed with solemn emphasis, "you live in these days in peace and "security." "But what are peace and security to "the starving?" asked this incredulous critic of the Sirkar. "Did not the Rájás kill their ryots at "will?" I asked. "If they sometimes killed their "children," explained he, "they let them enjoy "themselves till then. Die we all have to. The "real thing is how to fill the stomach while living. "What is life with all its hourly wants—no salt, no "fuel, no fodder. The Rájás were very careless, "and allowed their amalkars to loot the people and "practice zulum on them. But on holidays, they "gave to the people largely, sometimes asking the "people, 'What do you want? what will you have?' "The Sirkar now asks the people, 'What will you "'give?' Everything in the world belongs to the "Sirkar and their amalkars; if the ryots want a "little out of it, they must pay for it in one shape "or another." And so on and on he went, appealing principally to his stomach philosophy which after all, is the most visible and the most tangible of the daughters of wisdom to rural philosophers.

I saw the iron had entered the soul of my philosophic tramp. His was an ignorant pessimism, and he looked at everything foreign with a jaundiced eye. He disliked the Sirkar, whom he know not, because of his dislike for their amalkars, whom he knew but too well. And yet, was he much to blame, this simpleton who had probably been undone by a complex and artificial civilization foisted on him? What are all the blessings of civilization to the empty stomach? I reflected. By this time we had reached the other end of the valley; and as I took leave of my companion I presented him with a handful of copper coins. He took these with a hand trembling with excitement and eyes glistening with gratitude. I was as pleased with my morning's work as was the tramp, though it remains to be seen if this yarn is worth the coppers that have helped to weave it.

A Bombay Hermit.

Three Bengalí ladies, all students at the Bethune College, have passed the B.A. examination at the University of Calcutta this year. Their names are Sasibala Banerjee, Ellen Chundra, and Surabala Ghose. (*New India.*)

RULES as to the Submission to the British Committee of the Indian National Congress of Statements of Grievances or Cases of Oppression or Injustice in which it is desired that the Committee take action.

UNDER RESOLUTION 12, CONGRESS VII.

I. Every question referred by any association or body of men under Resolution XII. of the Seventh Congress, to the British Congress Committee, shall be carefully drawn up in the form of a brief, clearly and concisely stating all the material facts of the case, and shall be accompanied by copies of all printed papers and authenticated copies of all manuscript papers referred to in the brief or bearing directly on any of the points at issue.

II. Every such brief shall be attested in the following form by the chairman or president and the secretary of the association or body, and by at least ten members of the same.

"We, the undersigned, hereby certify that we "have individually and collectively carefully "enquired into the facts of this matter, and "that to the best of our knowledge the above "brief is an absolutely true and accurate statement of all the facts, so far as we have been "able to ascertain these, connected therewith, "and that all documents known to us and procurable, bearing upon the same, have been "attached to this statement."

III. No such reference shall be made in regard to any question of a purely private or personal character, unless it manifestly involves some principle of general and public importance.

IV. No such reference shall be made until it has first been sanctioned by a general meeting of the association or other body called specially to discuss the same, and of which at least one week's previous notice shall have been given. If at such general meeting any members dissent from the conclusion arrived at by the majority, and desire to put such dissent in writing, accompanied by their reasons for the same, such dissent and grounds therefor must be sent to the British Committee along with the other papers, and should be noticed in the brief.

V. Every such reference must be accompanied by a bill for £25, to meet preliminary expenses of printing, etc. An account of such £25 to be furnished by the British Committee, and any portion not expended to be refunded by them.

VI. None of the persons signing the reference should have any direct personal or private pecuniary interest in the matter referred. If they have, the same must be noted opposite their names, and its nature fully explained.

VII. It is understood that the British Committee reserve to themselves full discretion as to moving or not moving in the matter, or if the former as to how they should deal with the reference. In any case they will give the earliest possible information as to the decision they have arrived at, and their reasons for the same.

VIII. It is understood that the British Committee will refuse to receive any further reference from any Committee or other body, that may once mislead them on any material point in making any reference.

INDIA

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INDIA.

LONDON, 1 AUGUST, 1893.

FORMATION OF AN INDIAN PARTY IN PARLIAMENT.

The first definite step towards the organisation, or rather the revival, of an Indian Parliamentary Committee was taken last Thursday, the 27th of July, when Sir W. Wedderburn and Mr. Caine invited a few leading independent members to dine with them at the House of Commons to discuss Indian affairs.

After dinner, Sir W. Wedderburn opened the proceedings by reading the following Memorandum to show the past history of the movement:—

In 1883, Mr. John Bright approved the organisation of an informal Indian Committee, having for its object to secure combined Parliamentary action in matters affecting Indian public interests. Some 50 names were obtained of members of Parliament willing to co-operate on the broad ground of a just and sympathetic policy towards India; and it was arranged that out of these an Executive Committee of five or six should be formed. Of this Executive Committee, Mr. Bright consented to act as Chairman. It may be noted that this scheme was a revival of on older organisation which, under the name of the "India Reform Society," was founded in 1853, mainly through the exertions of Mr. John Dickinson, for the purpose of promoting combined and well-directed action among the friends of India. At that time the Charter of the East India Company was about to expire, viz., on the 30th April, 1854, and the immediate object of the Society was to secure that the customary enquiry by Parliament, previous to the renewal of the Charter, should be full and impartial. By means of the facts thus collected, and supplied to him through Mr. John Dickinson, Mr. Bright was enabled to make his great speeches on India, which led to the issue of the Queen's Proclamation in 1858, and did so much to determine the wise and humane policy which followed the Indian Mutiny.

Similarly, the Indian Committee organised in 1883, endeavoured to obtain a full Parliamentary enquiry. In 1885, Mr. John Slagg secured a place for his motion to inquire into the Government of India Act of 1858, and Lord Randolph Churchill agreed to second it. But, unfortunately, a change of Government prevented the motion coming on, and no opportunity has since occurred.

Now, in 1893, the need for inquiry is more urgent than ever. For forty years there has been no stock-taking, such as in former times was carried out regularly every twenty years before the renewal of the Company's Charter. The extreme poverty of the people, and the financial difficulties of the Government are well-known. Lord Lansdowne, a few days ago, described the existing situation in the following words: "To leave matters as they are "means for the Government of India hopeless "financial confusion; . . . . for the tax-payers of "India the prospect of heavy and unpopular bur-"dens; . . . . and for the country as a whole a "fatal and stunting arrest of its development." Surely such a state of things, admitted by the head of the Indian Government, shows the need of immediate enquiry and reform; the more so because public opinion in India is fully convinced that this disastrous condition of affairs has been produced by official mismanagement, and that, with reasonable economy and with wise administration, India would not only pay her way, but should enjoy a large measure of prosperity, to the great benefit of the masses both there and in this country.

What I would now suggest is to reconstitute an Indian Parliamentary Committee according to the method approved by Mr. Bright, to be formed from among those members who are willing to co-operate on the broad ground of a just and sympathetic policy towards India. Fortunately since 1883 great progress has been made in organizing independent public opinion in India. India, formerly dumb, has now found a voice; and, by the mouth of the Indian National Congress, has during the last nine years formulated a programme of reforms which are generally admitted to be moderate, practical, and directly tending to the better administration of the country.

In England usually the official side only of Indian questions is represented. The question therefore for reformers in India is, how to obtain a reasonable hearing for independent Indian opinion, from the India Office, the House of Commons, and the British public. With this object in view the Congress has established a Committee in London known as the British Committee of the Indian National Congress, which has its office in Palace Chambers, Westminster. But recently the Secretary of State for India has found a difficulty in corresponding officially with this Committee, while expressing his willingness to receive representations from a Parlia-

mentary Committee on the lines above indicated. It is not desired to trespass unduly on the time and attention of Members, who already have so much on their hands. But while only a small number of Members may be prepared to initiate bills, motions, and questions relating to India, others might be willing (on due notice) to attend at Indian debates and give their support to such proposals of reform as appear to them desirable.

Sir W. Wedderburn concluded by moving the following Resolution: "That it is desirable to form "an Indian Parliamentary Committee for the pur- "pose of promoting combined and well-directed "action among those interested in Indian affairs."

This resolution was seconded by Mr. Caine and supported by Mr. John E. Ellis, and carried unanimously.

Mr. Jacob Bright then moved: "That the follow- "ing members form the Indian Parliamentary "Committee, with power to add to their number." The names, which included all those invited, were the following:

Mr. Jacob Bright,	Mr. H. Paul,
Mr. Caine,	Sir Joseph Pease,
Mr. John E. Ellis,	Mr. T. H. Roberts,
Dr. W. A. Hunter,	Mr. R. T. Reid,
Mr. Illingworth,	Mr. Samuel Smith,
Sir Wilfrid Lawson,	Mr. C. E. Schwann,
Mr. Walter B. McLaren,	Mr. Eugene Wason,
Mr. Swift MacNeill,	Mr. Webb,
Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji,	Sir W. Wedderburn.

This motion was seconded by Mr. Illingworth, and supported by Mr. S. Smith, Mr. D. Naoroji, Mr. Swift MacNeill, and Mr. Schwann, and was carried unanimously.

On the motion of Mr. Caine, seconded by Mr. S. Smith, Sir W. Wedderburn was appointed Chairman, and Mr. T. H. Roberts was appointed Secretary of the Committee.

THE BEHAR CADASTRAL SURVEY.

By Sir Roper Lethbridge, K.C.I.E.

I regard the question of the Behar Cadastral Survey as one of such infinite importance, both to the general welfare of the Province of Bengal, and to the future relations between the Government of Bengal and its subjects under the newly inaugurated system of a representative Legislative Council, that I gladly accept the courteous invitation of the editor of India to lay before its readers some remarks on the present aspects of the question.

I propose to consider these aspects, as briefly as possible, under three heads: *First*, the election of a reformed Legislative Council of Bengal, and its bearing on this question; *secondly*, the opportunity for a reconsideration of the whole subject, afforded by the recent change, temporary or otherwise, in the Lieutenant-Governorship; and *thirdly*, the reception accorded by the Press and Public of India to the remarkable expression of public opinion on this subject called forth by the Westminster Town-hall meeting of the East India Association in April last.

Under the first head.—Ever since the time, more than twenty years ago, when as editor of the *Calcutta Review* I offered a strenuous resistance to the imposition of the Road Cess as a burden exclusively on the land of Bengal, I have always opposed every attempt to whittle away the Permanent Settlement. On this general ground of principle, I have from the first opposed the carrying-out of a prodigiously costly survey at the expense of the agriculturists of Behar, as an unnecessary, unjust, and oppressive measure—harassing to the landlords, ruinous to the tenants, useful to no one except perhaps the Government, and only useful to the Government on the impossible condition of adequate provision being made for the permanent maintenance of the record-of-rights. In my Westminster Town Hall speech, and in the reply to Mr. Rogers published in these pages, I have dealt with this general question of principle, and will not now return to it.

But I have also based my opposition to this Survey—and I again venture to submit the point, respectfully but most earnestly, to the consideration of the authorities—mainly on the fact, which cannot be seriously disputed, that the measure is regarded with dislike, and even with terror, by all classes of agriculturists, by tenants even more than by landlords, in Bengal.

Well, we now have a fairly representative Council, or at any rate, a Council far more truly representative than any we have yet known. The policy of the British Committee of the Indian National Congress on this point has been courageously and loyally accepted by Lord Lansdowne's Government, and by all parties in the House of Commons; and I for one have no hesitation in cordially offering to the Committee my congratulations on the success of that policy in Bengal.

For what has been the result of the recent elections? Take this question of the Behar Survey, which, in my humble opinion, is a question of all others most properly decided by the arbitrament of a popular election. Not a single supporter of the Survey has been returned! whilst those who have been elected, either unanimously or by an almost unanimous popular suffrage, have been the very leaders of the opposition to the Survey!

In Behar itself, who is it that has been unanimously elected for that very Patna Division which is the *corpus vile* on which Sir Charles Elliott is experimenting? Why, the Mahárájá of Darbhanga, that able and patriotic nobleman who has from the first taken the lead in opposing the Survey as especially injurious to the poorer cultivators, and whose powerful speech at the great Sonpur meeting in 1891 has been the text from which every subsequent speaker or writer has quoted! Mr. Lal Mohan Ghose, too—whose Liberal candidature at Deptford will not prevent any sincere Conservative from rendering due homage to his great abilities and public spirit—has been returned as one of the Calcutta members. To the best of my belief, both Mr. Ghose and his Calcutta colleagues have been prominent opponents of the Survey. I think much the same may be said of the other elected representatives; and the latest Calcutta telegrams tell us that the whole Bengal Legislative Council is about to justify still further the principle

of popular selection, by sending up the Mahárájá of Darbhanga as its representative in the Viceroy's Council.

Now, after this unmistakeable declaration of the popular sentiment, I take it there can be little doubt as to the view that will be taken of this question by Committee of the National Congress. But I go further—I would appeal to the Government of Bengal itself. I would most respectfully throw out to them this challenge. I would ask them to remit the whole subject—both as to the advisability of forcing on the Survey, and as to the propriety, or even the humanity, of crushing the unfortunate agriculturists of Behar under the burden of its cost —to the reformed Legislative Council of Bengal. I would ask them to give open and honourable permission and encouragement to the official members, freely to vote on this measure according to their consciences. If they will do this, I can say for myself, and I believe I can say for all those who share my opinions, that the verdict so obtained would be loyally accepted by all.

And I am very glad to be able to add that since the above lines were first written, the proposal contained in them has been formally submitted to Government by a question in the House of Commons.

Dealing with this point *inter alia*, a most remarkable Joint-Memorial against the Survey has just been submitted to the Viceroy by the combined action of all the great political associations of Lower Bengal connected with the land—the British Indian Association, the Behar Landholders' Association, the Bhagalpur Landholders' Association, the Zamindárí Panchayat, and the Indian Property Association. The statements and arguments of this Joint-Memorial are at once so startling and so conclusive that I think I can promise the readers of INDIA that they will hear a good deal more about it in the near future. It demonstrates with convincing force that, under the existing law, the proceedings taken in this Survey —and especially the imposition of the burden of its cost on the zamindars and rayats—are utterly *ultra vires* and illegal. It points out that the actual costs, charged by executive order against the zamindars and rayats, of the small initial Survey already commenced, apart altogether from the extortion, litigation, and other burdens incidental to it, will be more than a million sterling; and it protests that the days are past when such a prodigious load of taxation can be imposed on any community in India by mere executive order without special legislation. It intimates pretty clearly that any attempt on the part of the Government to recover these illegal exactions will be resisted in the law-courts. And on the particular point with which I have been dealing it has these impressive words:—

"It is evident that the zemindars and ryots, who are to bear seven-eighths of the expenses of this Survey, have never been consulted. The classes who alone are interested in the Survey, and who have to pay for the Survey, have been completely ignored. They were not even aware that such a measure was in contemplation until the sanction of the Secretary of State had been obtained. His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor professes[1] to act upon official opinion, but even if official opinion had been unanimously in favour of the Survey, the important question arises, is a heavy burden of taxation to be imposed on the agricultural community merely on official opinion, in a Province where there is a Legislative Council, and where no burdens can be imposed on the subject without legislative sanction. LEGISLATIVE COUNCILS ARE USELESS IF THEY ARE NOT TO CONSIDER SUCH IMPORTANT QUESTIONS AS THESE."

[1] The sarcasm is explained by the fact that the Memorial, in an earlier paragraph, has shown that, with one, or perhaps two exceptions, every one of the experienced officials consulted had agreed with the non-officials in condemning the Survey!

Sir William Wedderburn, whose authority on all settlement questions is second to none, and whose human sympathies are too strong to allow him to take the high-and-dry official view that might have been expected from his long and successful official career, has asked a series of questions in the House of Commons; and these clearly demonstrate that the Government of Bengal has drifted into illegality also in its application of the old Egyptian methods of the *Corvée* to the machinery of the Survey. The "forced labour" of the unfortunate *Patwáris* is surely an anachronism, and a disgrace to such a settled province as Bengal. I commend its consideration to the reformed Council.

Under the second head.—I wish altogether to dissociate myself and my friends in Bengal from the estimate of Sir Charles Elliott's character and motives that has been formed by a great London daily paper, that speaks of him as "our prancing Proconsul in "Bengal", and suggests that he has "looked round "to see if he could find out some other means of "annoying the Native and non-official European "communities." Those who know Sir Charles Elliott and his distinguished career will give him the fullest credit, not only for that ability which no one disputes, but also for the utmost sincerity in believing that his proposals will benefit those whom they concern.

But he is not a Bengal man. He did not even come to Bengal with that open mind that usually characterises the Governors of Bombay and Madras who are sent out direct from England. And his transparent honesty does not permit him to regret his lack of Bengal experience—still less does it permit him to conceal his perfectly sincere conviction that Bengal civilians and Bengal natives alike stand in need of much chastening, and that they all have to learn what is good for themselves and their province from the superior intelligence of Upper India. Everyone remembers the *naive* compassion with which Sir Charles regarded Mr. Halliday's opposition to the Survey as due solely to the Bengal provincialism of the latter—"the Lieutenant-Governor, however, "does not think that Mr. Halliday's experience "enables him fully to appreciate the advantages "which a regular settlement confers on all the "parties concerned."

Such being the bent of Sir Charles Elliott's mind, the inflexibility of purpose which is often characteristic of the *mens conscia recti* made it almost hopeless to expect that Bengal arguments would ever convince him that he had made, with all honesty of intention, a grave mistake. But now, Sir Antony MacDonnell is, at least for the time, in the saddle; and we learn that His Honour is proceeding on the 28th July to Behar, personally to confer with the zamindars, planters, and rayats on the spot, and presumably to endeavour to arrive at some arrangement with these several classes less provocative of their extreme hostility than the arbitrary arrangements of his predecessor in office.

It is impossible to conceive of a more favourable opportunity for an entire reconsideration of the whole project. Sir Antony will certainly find that every tenant in Behar is bitterly hostile to the Survey; and terribly afraid, not only of the enhancement of rent that he is assured will follow, but still more of the oppression, the corruption, the litigation, and the general upset of all his work and all his comfort, that will attend it. He will find the zamindars to a man equally hostile to it, and for the same reasons—which, they so wisely hold, far outweigh the assurance of an enhancement of their rents which is held out to them on the strength of the results of all the experimental Surveys. He may find a few of the planters more favourable to it; because it undeniably will give increased facilities (as I daresay Sir William Hudson remembers) for acquiring a grip on those rayats who, by the system of *kurtowli* leases—which "the Government of Bengal admitted" (Blue-book, p. 5) to be "a more serious objection to surveys"—"under the pressure of immediate need transfer "their privileges to indigo-planters and transform "themselves into sub-tenants of the latter." But all those planters who are themselves in the position of ryots will object; as Sir Charles Elliott himself points out (Blue-book, p. 143), "those, however, "who hold under temporary leases, may fear that "the effect of a survey will be that their leases will "only be renewed at enhanced rates if the results of "settlement tend to increase the rent-roll." And those planters who are in the position of zamindars will doubtless, as Sir Charles Elliott in the same letter admits, take the same view as the other zamindars.

So that Sir Antony MacDonnell will find that, with the exception of two or three planters desirous of more autocratic power over their rayats, the whole of the agricultural population of Behar loathes and detests his predecessor's project. What, then, is to prevent him, as a wise and prudent administrator, from relieving the Government of India and the Secretary of State of this nightmare by recommending the abandonment of the scheme?

Under the third head.—As far as I can learn, the English movement for resistance to the measure, in sympathy with the fears and the wishes of the people of Bengal, that was inaugurated by the Westminster meeting, has been hailed by the Press and the public of India with an almost unanimous chorus of approval. I believe that that approval has been absolutely unanimous in the press of Lower Bengal, both vernacular and English. The common danger has brought into line, for once in a way, organs of public opinion representative of every class and every community—papers usually so divergent in their views as (to mention a few) the *Hindoo Patriot*, the *Indian Mirror*, the *Reis and Rayyet*, with the *Englishman*, the *Indian Daily News*, and the *Statesman*. In all India I have only heard of two voices being raised on the other side; they are those of the *Pioneer*, the *quasi*-official journal of Upper India, and Sir William Hudson, a weighty authority among the planters. I frankly admit the importance of these two dissents. But I must at once point out that their approval is given, not to Sir Charles Elliott's scheme, but to another, an imaginary one altogether different. They assume that provision will be made for the adequate maintenance of the record-of-rights; but no such provision has been made by Sir Charles Elliott, and Mr. R. H. Wilson and many other authorities have conclusively shown that no such provision is possible except at an outrageous cost utterly beyond all reason. And above all, the *Pioneer*—like everybody else who has spoken or written of the measure, whether friend or foe—distinctly repudiates the odious and oppressive determination of the Government to saddle the unfortunate agriculturists of Behar with all, or nearly all, the gigantic expense of the survey. But I respectfully assure the *Pioneer* that this condition is absolutely of the essence of the measure. I venture to affirm, without the slightest fear of contradiction, that the Government of Bengal would not touch the survey with so much as its little finger, if it had to find the cost out of its own resources; and I affirm with equal confidence that it would never have had the ghost of a chance of persuading the Government of India to allow this terribly costly luxury, if any appreciable portion of the outlay had to be accounted for in Sir David Barbour's Budget.

I have said, with perfect sincerity, that Sir William Hudson's authority in the indigo-planting interest is weighty; and I much regret the approval he gives (standing I think, quite alone so far as the Bengal Provinces are concerned) to Sir Charles Elliott's project. But it is only fair to remember that one of the chief results of the Survey will be, as I have already observed, greatly to increase the facilities for the system of *Kurtowli* leases—admitted by the Government of Bengal to be "a more serious objection to surveys." And I think I cannot conclude this article in a way more forcibly to illustrate the real incidence of the measure for which Sir William Hudson has come forward as an apologist, than by quoting the *ipsissima verba* of the Bengal Government's own settlement officer, Mr. Collin, on the system of *Kurtowli* leases:

> "By this system raiyats sublet the whole of their holdings to indigo factories, on the understanding that the raiyat is to get back possession of the land, and to cultivate a fixed proportion in indigo. Raiyats will sublet their holdings thus in single instances for an advance of money, or collectively in order to obtain help from the factory to resist their proprietors. This system is objectionable from many points of view. It encourages the raiyat to extravagance by giving him an easy means of borrowing money, and the position between the upper and nether millstone of proprietor and indigo factory cannot be satisfactory. I came across a curious instance in the village of Sirsia illustrating the evils of this form of lease. A new factory was introduced in the village in competition with the neighbouring factory of Kanti. The Sirsia raiyats fearing that their lands would be taken up for indigo, and stimulated by the efforts of the Kanti factory to prevent the introduction of the rival factory, sublet their holdings to Kanti. The manager of the latter factory again sublet the holdings to the raiyats. Upon this the proprietors of Sirsia, who supported the new factory, filed suits for arrears of rent against some forty of the raiyats. The arrears were claimed at rates showing an advance of 50 per cent on the old rates, and with the help of fictitious rent-rolls, decrees were obtained. As soon as this had been done, the two factories came to terms, and the Kanti factory relinquished all interest in Sirsia. The sub-leases were made over to the Sirsia proprietor, and thus the raiyats are in the position of tenants of the proprietor, to whom also they have sublet all their holdings, and who is directly hostile to them."

This interesting passage will be found at page 30

of the Blue-Book, and is taken from paragraph 46 of the very Report on the Muzaffarpur Experimental Survey, on which Sir Charles Elliott mainly bases his project! I confess, after reading it, I quite agreed with Sir Charles Elliott that this system might well be regarded—at least from the rayat's point of view—as "a more serious objection to surveys." It seems to show that, after the completion of the Behar Survey, the indigo-planter's lot, under it, is likely to be a happier one than the rayat's. And yet the *Pioneer* makes its most telling point against my contention by triumphantly declaring that Sir William Hudson, with all his great authority as a planter, "boldly offers, with perfect "confidence in the result, to poll the next *pargana* "on the list for survey, and to find out whether the "raiyats would not rather pay one rupee apiece for "the records of their holdings that are given to "them, than to allow the proceedings to be stopped." From which it is clear that both the *Pioneer* and Sir William Hudson have greater faith in the merits of the system of *kurtowli* leases—or at least in its attractiveness to the rayats of that enlightened *pargana*—than appears to be justified by the descriptions given of it by Mr. Collin and Sir Charles Elliott!

The Calcutta papers received by this week's mail announce that the Lieutenant-Governor is going to hold a grand *Darbár* at Patna at the end of this month, for the purpose of investing Sir William Hudson with the *insignia* of the K.C.I.E., which his public services have so well deserved. Might I venture to suggest that the opportunity would be a good one—since every known Bengal supporter of the Survey will be present on the interesting occasion—for coming to some agreement as to the future of the *kurtowli* system? Roper Lethbridge.

THE SEPARATION OF EXECUTIVE AND JUDICIAL SERVICES IN BENGAL.

By the Right Hon. Sir Richard Garth.

Mr. Romesh Chunder Dutt has been kind enough to furnish me with an outline of the following scheme, before he sent it to the Press; and I am extremely glad to find that a Civilian Officer, who has had so large and varied an experience as a District Magistrate in Bengal, is not only strongly in favour of a reform of the present system, but considers that it may be carried out with little or no additional expense, and with great advantage to both branches of the Service.

So far as I am capable myself of forming an opinion upon his scheme, I entirely approve it. It seems to me the most natural and obvious means of separating the two great divisions of labour—the Executive and the Judicial; and it commends itself more especially to my judgment because it is substantially in accordance with the plan which I had myself roughly suggested, and with that which was submitted by Mr. Mano Mohan Ghose to Lord Ripon in 1884.

The number and variety of a District Officer's duties is more than enough to occupy his whole time, without any judicial work at all. In fact, the judicial work, which he does himself, is very trifling. He rarely tries an original case; and his appellate work consists of a few unimportant appeals which come up to him from magistrates not exercising first-class powers, and which, Mr. Dutt tells us, need occupy him only about two hours in each week. Thus the change proposed would relieve the District officer of the little judicial work he has, and (what is of far more consequence) would also relieve him from all responsibility as regards his subordinate judicial officers—a responsibility which has only served hitherto to place him in a false position, and to tempt him to use his influence and powers for a good many improper purposes, which, however much they may have been countenanced by high Civilian Officials have deservedly incurred the odium of the public, and brought disgrace on our Indian Administration.

It seems only in accordance with reason, that magistrates who are employed upon executive work, should be under the chief executive officer of each District; and that those who are employed in judicial work, should be under the chief judicial officer. To make courts of criminal justice subservient to police authority, is upon the face of it a dangerous anomaly. To make a judge's promotion dependent on the favour of the chief police officer, is a direct and most unwholesome incentive to him to gratify his master's wishes; and so long as criminal courts are virtually under police control, it is hopeless to expect from them either justice or independence.

The detailed arrangement, by which the executive and judicial work in each district, may best be distributed amongst the several subordinate magistrates, is a matter which Mr. Dutt, as an experienced District Officer, understands far better than I do. But where are admittedly four or five subordinate officers, who all take a share in the executive and judicial work of each District, there ought surely to be no great difficulty in assigning the executive portion of the work to some of those officers, and the judicial portion to the others.

The distribution, as Mr. Dutt tells us, must vary according to the requirements of each particular District; and I have no doubt he is right in saying that the change should be confined, at any rate in the first instance, to the Regulation Provinces.

I trust that his scheme may at least pave the way to some fair and impartial enquiry as to whether this much desired reform, of which Lord Kimberley and Lord Cross have both so strongly signified their approval, may not be carried out with as little delay as possible. Richard Garth.

A SCHEME FOR THE SEPARATION OF JUDICIAL AND EXECUTIVE FUNCTIONS IN BENGAL.

By Romesh Chunder Dutt, C.I.E.,
District Magistrate of Midnapur in Bengal.

The recent discussions on the subject of the separation of judicial and executive functions in India have given sincere gratification to my countrymen in India. They have read with satisfaction, and also with feelings of gratitude, the views expressed by

Lord Stanley in the House of Lords, and the clear and emphatic opinion on the subject expressed by Lord Kimberly. They have learnt with sincere joy that the system of uniting judicial and executive functions in the same Officer has been condemned by two successive Secretaries of State, Lord Cross and Lord Kimberley. And they entertain a legitimate hope that a policy which has been thus condemned by the highest authorities in Indian affairs will not long continue to the policy of British rule in India.

Sir Richard Garth, late Chief Justice of the High Court of Calcutta, whose paper on this subject led to the discussions in the House of Lords, has since explained the history of the present system of administration in a clear, lucid, and forcible manner. He has shown that so far back as 1860, a Commission appointed to report on the police, declared that "the "judicial and police functions were not to be mixed "up and confounded." He has pointed out that the late Sir Barnes Peacock and other high authorities were against the union of these functions, and that the late Sir Bartle Frere in introducing the Bill which afterwards became the Police Act of 1861, "hoped that at no distant period the principle (of "the separation of judicial and executive functions) "would be acted upon throughout India." Sir Richard Garth has also informed the public that between 1865 and 1868 the highest civilian authorities in India were again consulted on the subject, and according to Sir James Stephen, the District Magistrates themselves were "greatly embarassed "by the union in their persons of judicial and "executive functions." Sir Richard has further told us that under Lord Ripon's Government opinions were again collected, and the present system was only continued because the retention of judicial powers in the hands of District Officers was concerned (and very wrongly considered, *vide* Lord Kimberley's speech) "essential to the weight and "influence of his office." And lastly, Sir Richard has quoted the words of the present Secretary of State that the present system "is contrary to right "and good principle," and he has also quoted the words of the late Secretary of State who concurs in this opinion with Lord Kimberley.

Such are the opinions of men most capable of forming a judgment on the present system of administration in India, and responsible administrators are anxious to effect a reform which will remove the evil without materially adding to the cost of administration. A practicable scheme of reform will be not unwelcome at the present moment, and many of my countrymen and some of my English friends have asked me to state my views on the subject, as I happen to be in England just now. I venture therefore to suggest the leading features of a scheme which has for many years appeared perfectly feasible to myself, and which I believe will meet the views and wishes not only of my countrymen, but of most Englishmen also, who are quite as anxious for wholesome reform on this point as my countrymen.

It is necessary for me to state that I have been employed on administrative work in Bengal for twenty-two years, and that I have had ample opportunities to observe the practical working of the present system of administration during this period. Within this period I have had the honour of holding charge of some of the largest and most important Districts in Bengal—like Bardwan, with its population of a million and a half, and Bakarganj, with its population of two millions, and Midnapur, with its population of two and a half millions, and Maimansingh, with its population of three and a half millions—which is equal to the population of many a small kingdom in Europe. In these extensive and thickly-populated Districts I have, for years past, combined in myself the functions of the head of the Police, the head Magistrate, the head Superintendent of Prisons, the head Revenue Officer, the head Tax Collector, the head of the Government Treasury, the head Manager of Government Estates, the head Manager of Minors' States, the head Engineer, the head Sanitary Officer, the head Superintendent of Primary Schools, and various other functions. I have for years past directed and watched police enquiries in important cases, had the prisoners in those cases tried by my subordinates, heard and disposed of the appeals of some of those very prisoners, and superintended their labour in prisons. And during all these years I have held the opinion that a separation of Judicial and Executive functions would make our duties less embarrassing, and more consistent with our ideas of judicial fairness; that it would improve both Judicial work and Executive work; and that it would require no material addition to the cost of administration.

Bengal is divided into nine Divisions, viz., 1. Presidency. 2. Bardwan. 3. Rajshahi. 4. Dacca. 5. Chittagong. 6. Orissa. 7. Patna. 8. Bhagalpur. 9. Chota Nagpur. I think it is not feasible, nor desirable perhaps for the present, to effect a separation of judicial and executive functions in the Division of Chota Nagpur which consists of Non-Regulation Districts. It is also, perhaps, undesirable to effect such separation in the Districts of Darjíling and Jalpaiguri in Rajshahi Division; in the Hill Tracts of Chittagong Division; and in the Santal Parganas of Bhagalpur Division. In the remaining portions of the Province, it is possible to effect the separation at once.

The population of Bengal, (excluding Tributary States and the States of the Mahárájás of Kuch Behar, Sikkim, and Tipperah) is, according to the census of 1891, *seventy-one millions* in round numbers. The population of the Districts alluded to in the last paragraph, in which a separation of judicial and executive functions is for the present impracticable, is *seven millions* in round numbers. In the remaining portions of Bengal, having a population of *sixty-four millions*, it is possible to effect the desired separation at once.

Generally speaking, there are two senior covenanted officers in every Regulation District in Bengal, viz., a District Judge and a District Magistrate. The District Judge is the head of all subordinate judicial officers who dispose of civil cases, and he also tries such important criminal cases as are committed to the Sessions. The work of the District Magistrate is more varied, as has been indicated above. He is the head of the police, supervises prisons, collects revenue and taxes, sells opium and

settles liquor-shops, constructs roads and bridges, regulates primary education, and combines with these and other executive duties the functions and powers of the head Magistrate of his district.

My scheme is simple. The District Magistrate, whom I will henceforth call the District Officer, should be employed purely on executive and revenue work, which is sufficiently varied, onerous, and engrossing, and should be relieved of his judicial duties, which should be transferred to the District Judge. The subordinates of the District Officer, who will continue to perform revenue and executive work only, will remain under him; while those of his present subordinates, who will be employed on purely judicial work, should be subordinate to the Judge and not to the District Officer.

At present the subordinates of the District Officer combine executive and revenue and judicial work. A Joint-Magistrate or Assistant-Magistrate (subordinate to the District Officer) tries criminal cases, and also does revenue and executive work. A Deputy-Magistrate (similarly subordinate to the District Officer) also tries criminal cases and does revenue and executive work. This arrangement must be changed.

I will first take the case of Joint Magistrates and Assistant Magistrates, who are Covenanted officers. Young civilians, as soon as they arrive in Bengal, are posted as Assistant Magistrates; they try criminal cases and also help the District officer in his revenue and executive work. After they have had some experience in their work and learnt something of the people, and after they have passed two examinations in Indian law and accounts, and the languages of the Province, they are promoted to be Joint Magistrates. And the Joint Magistrate tries all the more important criminal cases, and performs much of the important criminal work of the District. And in course of time he becomes a District Officer or a District Judge.

Referring to the Bengal Civil List for April, 1893, which is the last number that is available to me in London now, I find that the present number of Joint Magistrates, and officiating Joint Magistrates in Bengal (excluding those acting in higher capacities, or on special duty) is only twenty-two. And the number of Assistant Magistrates, after such exclusion, is also twenty-two. As there are over forty Districts in Bengal, it is clear that on the average each District Officer has only one Covenanted Assistant (Joint or Assistant Magistrate) and no more. In some Districts there are more than one, in smaller Districts there are none.

I propose that the Assistant Magistrates should be employed purely on revenue, executive and police work, and should be subordinate to the District Officer. And when the Assistant Magistrates are promoted to be Joint Magistrates, they should be employed purely on Judicial work, and be subordinate to the District Judge.

This proposal will not only secure the separation of functions contemplated, but will secure two other distinctly beneficial results. In the first place, young Civilians fresh from England, and wholly unacquainted with the manners and habits, and even the colloquial language of the people of India, will be stopped from trying criminal cases until they have acquired some local knowledge and experience by doing revenue and general executive work, and watching police cases and police administration. And in the second place, such young Civilians will receive a more systematic and less confused training in their duties by devoting their attention during the first two or three years to purely executive and revenue and police work, and then employing themselves for some years on purely judicial work.

I next come to the Deputy Magistrates, who are uncovenanted officers, and generally natives of India. They also combine judicial, executive, and revenue work, and are subordinate to the District officer The Civil List gives their number as 305 in all; but excluding those on leave, or employed on special duty, or in subdivisions (of which I will speak later on) there are, on an average, only four Deputy Magistrates in the headquarters of each District to help the District officer. In small Districts there are, perhaps, only two; in specially large Districts there are as many as six.

I propose that in each District one-half of the Deputy Magistrates may be employed on purely executive and revenue work, and be placed under the District Officer, and that the other half be employed on purely judicial work, and placed under the District Judge. In some Districts, where the revenue work is particularly heavy, probably more than half the Deputy Magistrates may be placed under the District officer. And in other Districts, where the criminal work is more important, the Judge may require more than half the Deputy Magistrates. These details can be very easily settled. But in the main it is clear and self-evident that the officers who are able to cope with revenue and criminal work which is heaped on them in a confused manner, will be able to cope with it better under the system of division of labour proposed above.

The results of the proposals made above will be these. The District Officer will still be the head executive officer, the head revenue officer, and the head police officer of his District. He will collect revenue and taxes, and perform all the work connected with revenue administration with the help of his Assistants and Deputies. He will continue to perform all executive work, and will be armed with the necessary powers. He will watch and direct police investigations, and will be virtually the prosecutor in criminal cases. But he will cease to try, or to have tried by his subordinates, criminal cases, in respect of which he is the police officer and the prosecutor.

On the other hand, the District Judge will, in addition to his present duties, supervise the work of Joint Magistrates and Deputy Magistrates employed on purely judicial work. This work of supervision will be better and more impartially done by trained judicial officers than by over-worked executive officers, who are also virtually prosecutors. And the evil which arises from the combination of the functions of the prosecutor and the judge—of which we have had some striking illustrations of late—will cease to exist when the prosecutor is no longer the judge.

The transfer of all judicial work to the District

Judge will give him some additional work; but he will easily cope with it with the additional officers who will be placed under him under the proposed scheme. In important and heavy Districts the Judge will have a Joint Magistrate under him, and the Joint Magistrate may in exceptional cases be vested with the powers of an Assistant Sessions Judge to relieve the District Judge of his sessions work. In Districts where there are no Joint Magistrates, a senior and selected Deputy Magistrate can do the Joint Magistrate's work, and efficiently help the Judge in his duty of supervision of criminal work. With regard to criminal appeals, the District Judge now hears all of them from sentences passed by first-class Magistrates. The few appeals from second and third-class Magistrates which the District Officer now hears may also be heard by the Judge, and the addition will scarcely be felt. In exceptionally heavy Districts like Maimansingh and Midnapur criminal appeals did not take more than three hours of my time in a week. A trained Judicial Officer like the District Judge would do it in less time, and if he required help in this matter also, his subordinate Joint Magistrate or a selected Deputy Magistrate might be empowered to hear petty appeals.

It only remains to deal with what are called Sub-Districts or Sub-Divisions in Bengal. The Bengal Districts are generally extensive in area; and while the central portions are managed and administered from headquarters, it is found convenient to form the outlying portions into separate Sub-Districts or Sub-Divisions, and to place them in charge of Sub-Divisional Officers. Such Sub-Divisional Officers (generally Deputy Magistrates, sometimes Assistant or Joint Magistrates) are also completely subordinate to the District Officer, like the Assistants at headquarters.

In Bengal (excluding the backward Districts in which the introduction of the proposed scheme is at present impracticable) there are seventy-five Sub-Divisions. There is only one Sub-Divisional Officer in each Sub-Division, and he performs revenue and executive and judicial work in his Sub-Division, as his superior, the District Officer, does for the whole District. The question arises, how the scheme of separation can be introduced in these seventy-five Sub-Divisions.

There is a class of Officers, called Sub-Deputy Collectors, who are generally employed on revenue-work, but sometimes perform judicial work and try criminal cases. Some of them are employed at headquarters, while others are sent to important Sub-Divisions to help Sub-Divisional Officers. For many years past the work in Sub-Divisions has been increasing, and the demand for a Sub-Deputy Collector in every Sub-Division in Bengal has been growing also. It has been urged that Sub-Divisional Officers who are mainly employed on judicial work cannot find time to perform their revenue work without help. It has also been urged, with great force, that during the absence of Sub-Divisional Officers on their annual tours, Sub-Divisional treasuries have to be closed, much to the inconvenience of the Postal Department, the Civil Justice Department, and all Government Departments, as well as the public. To remove all this inconvenience, and to give the necessary help to Sub-Divisional Officers, it has been urged that a Sub-Deputy Collector should be placed in every Sub-Division. This should now be done.

The present number of Sub-Deputy Collectors (excluding those who are acting in higher capacities) is 97. Allowing for officers on leave, there will still be 75 officers always available for employment in the 75 Sub-Divisions. And when a Sub-Deputy Collector is thus posted in each Sub-Division, he can be entrusted with the revenue work of the Sub-Division, and be subordinate to the District Officer, while the Sub-Divisional Officer will be subordinate to the District Judge.

I make this proposal after a careful consideration of the nature of the revenue work which has to be done in Sub-Divisions. All important revenue work connected with Land Revenue, Cesses, Income Tax, Certificates, etc., is transacted in the headquarters of the District, and the revenue work of Sub-Divisions is light and easy. Similarly the work of control and supervision of the Police Department is done at headquarters, and the Sub-Deputy Collector will have little to do in this line. The treasury work in Sub-Divisions is light, and is now often done by Sub-Deputy Collectors. On the whole, therefore, I am satisfied that a Sub-Deputy Collector will, under the instructions of the District Officer, be quite competent to manage the revenue and other work of Sub-Divisions, when the judicial functions have been separated and made over to the Sub-Divisional Officer.

There is only one objection which can be reasonably urged against this scheme. Many Sub-Deputy Collectors are now employed at the headquarters of Districts, sometimes on important work, and to take them all away for Sub-Divisions may be impracticable. Some District Officers may reasonably urge that they require Sub-Deputy Collectors at the District headquarters also, and where this is satisfactorily shown, the requisition should be complied with. It may be necessary, therefore, to appoint twenty or thirty additional Sub-Deputy Collectors, and this is the only increase to the cost of administration which appears to me necessary for effecting a complete separation between judicial and executive functions in Bengal.

Even this additional cost may be met by savings in other departments. Special Deputy Collectors and Sub-Deputy Collectors are employed on excise work, and their special services are wholly unnecessary in this Department. It has always appeared to me, and to many others, that the services of such trained and well-qualified officers are wasted in performing work which do not require officers of their rank. If these officers were withdrawn from the Excise Department, and if the work of that department were included in the general work of the District, as was the case some five years ago, it would probably be unnecessary to appoint additional Sub-Deputy Collectors as recommended in the last paragraph.

The scheme which has been briefly set forth in the preceding paragraphs is a practicable one, and can be introduced under the present circumstances of Bengal, excluding the backward tracts. I have

worked both as Sub-Divisional Officer and as District Officer in many of the Districts in Bengal, and I would undertake to introduce the scheme in any Bengal District, and to work it on the lines indicated above.

I have only to add that if the scheme set forth above—with such modifications in details as may be deemed necessary after a careful consideration of it by the Government—be introduced, it will be necessary to recast the Code of Criminal Procedure so as to relieve the District Officer and his subordinates of judicial powers in criminal cases, and to vest them in the District Judge and his subordinates. The police work, the revenue work, and the general executive work can then be performed by the District Officer with greater care and satisfaction to himself, and also to the greater satisfaction of the people in whose interests he administers the District. ROMESH CHUNDER DUTT.

National Liberal Club, July 24th, 1893.

THE CURRENCY QUESTION.

By Δ

A very remarkable article on the Government of India's recent attempt to confer a fictitious value on the rupee appears in to-day's issue of the *Investor's Review*. It is entitled "An Indian Lunacy," and does full justice to the infatuated ignorance of the bureaucracy, who, dragging along with them an amiable but invertebrate Viceroy, have rushed blindfold into action, which all the wisest experts of Europe and America have concurred in considering opposed alike to economic principles and common sense.

What most impresses us in the article is the firm hold that it takes of the real causes of those financial difficulties which are at the bottom of the Indian Government's late frantic and ill-considered attempt to force upon the world their view that two and two make five, or ought to do so, and *shall* henceforth do so in India. Administrative extravagance is the root of the evil: "*The true curse of India,*" we are told, "*is not cheap silver, not a failing exchange, but* "*debt and extravagance.*" And, again, the writer, an eminent British financier, who, *inter alia*, is the City editor of the leading Conservative organ, tells us that all the dangers of the unnatural career on which the Indian Government has entered so light-heartedly have "been overlooked by *those who* "*rushed the Act providing for the suspension of coinage* "*by the Indian mints through the Council at Simla.*" All that these legislators, he tells us, "*had before* "*their eyes was the urgent necessity of doing something* "*to increase the net remuneration of the Europeans* "*employed in India.*" This latter is just what a widely-known Calcutta merchant writes to us. He says: "Trade is already seriously dislocated; "outside official circles all thinking men, Europeans and Natives, deprecate this sudden irrational, and very inadequately considered action "—but what do the officials care? India may be "ruined, the empire wrecked before its time, if "only they can add a penny or two to the English "value of every rupee of their huge salaries."

That the European officials have a serious grievance in this persistent reduction of the English value of their salaries, we should be the last to deny, but that grievance was not to be *thus* redressed, it was not *tali auxilio* that their cause was to be won: "*economically governed, the Indian Empire might pros-* "*per for centuries; governed as it now is, it may perish* "*in our lifetime.*"

Let us now reproduce a few passages, *in extenso*, from this vigorous and outspoken article. This is how the general case is introduced.

"So the Government of India has nailed up its "weathercock. Henceforth, blow the wind whence "it may and ever so fiercely, it will always be con- "stant and fair around the treasuries of the dusky "empire. We stand dismayed. Can it be indeed "true that whom the gods wish to destroy they first "make mad? Here is a Government which stands "in the position of a debtor to England on current "account to the extent of about £19,000,000 for this "year, and whose net obligations are always on the "increase, coming forward to say, 'It is for us to "'determine how our debt shall be paid.' Lying "as it does under an obligation to find every year in "London a sum of money which may soon exceed "£20,000,000 sterling; being now to the extent of "from £15,000,000 to £19,000,000 per annum, a "constant purchaser of gold in the London market, "it yet perpetrates the astounding folly of saying to "that market: 'We shall only give you a certain "'price for this gold. It is our imperial will and "'pleasure that the silver rupee, our only coin, shall "'henceforth, and until further orders, be worth "'sixteen pennyworths of gold, and, whether you "'like it or not, you must sell gold to us at this "'valuation.' The wonder is that such a proposi- "tion was not greeted with shouts of derision. Had "the Government of India been, as distinguished "from the people, rich, we could have understood "its attitude and appreciated it, however much we "might have doubted the success of the experiment. "But that a Government, owing hundreds of millions "of capital to the mother-country, with a liability to "pay each year for interest, pensions, military "supplies and troops, railway dividends, and annui- "ties, etc., an amount which has now reached the "sum mentioned above, shall come forward to say, "'We shall pay you this and this alone,' is sheer "insanity, bodeful of disaster. It is going to set "up a gold standard, this Government, and owns no "gold to do it with. A compulsory buyer of the "yellow metal to pay debts, it yet attempts to fix "the buying price, and its 'statesmen'—God help "them!—imagine that they can, by their mere fiat, "make the one-sided arrangement permanent.

"In the history of the world we can call to mind "no greater example of political folly. Until the

"news of it came from Simla, we refused to believe "it possible, still less to believe that the Home "Government or the Herschell Committee could be "guilty of sanctioning any step so utterly mad. "And now that our expectations have in this regard "been so completely falsified, the only conclusion "that remains to us is, that the Government of "India must be much nearer bankruptcy than we "suspected. Bankruptcy, all observers knew to be "merely a question of time, but our own impression "was that the time might be long. Thanks to the "help afforded by a continually falling exchange, "the Indian Government might, we thought, be "able to scrape along for many years. It is now "obvious that this expectation was altogether too "sanguine. India is very near a composition with "her creditors, and the step her rulers have taken "in attempting to fix the exchange value of the "silver rupee, as against gold, must hasten the "catastrophe. 'Mere pessimism,' cries the Indian "official and apologist. It is the only thing left to "them to say, or that they appear to have brains "enough to conceive. These shouters of the word "'pessimism', 'pessimist,' remind us of nothing so "much as the forest apes who rain cocoanuts down "on whoever dares to intrude on their haunts, or "whatever comes beneath their trees which is new "and strange. Facts are strange and horrific "things to the hidebound, the limp and idealess "mind which this luxurious age appears to have "bred. It resents their intrusion upon the false "peace of their stupidity, and 'pessimism,' 'pessi- "mist,' are their cocoanuts. When they have "thrown these at the quiet inquirer's head they "imagine him crushed. The screaming baboon of "the jungle is not more an imbecile than they."

We who for years have been denouncing the general unsuitability of the present administration of India, to the existing conditions of the country, to the needs of her gigantic population, and to the spirit of the times in which we are living, have had ample experience of these official cocoanuts, but it would be unjust to the forest apes not to point out that whereas the nuts that they hurl are, in their way, pretty efficient missiles, those projected by the Simla gang though full of sound and fury, are as devoid of weight and substance as the arguments (as *they* are pleased to call them) by which they support their position.

The article goes on to say that without inflicting on its readers a disquisition on bi-metalism, these "will do well to peruse the following extract from Sir "D. Barbour's minute, because in it . . . . the most "cogent reasons are given for thinking that the "attempt to establish a 'gold standard' in India "must end in disaster." This is how that minute runs:

"I have no doubt that even with a gold standard "the people of India would in almost all their "transactions prefer to employ silver rupees. It is "improbable that a gold coin of less than ten rupees "in value would be issued in India, and such a "coin would be quite unsuited for ordinary Indian "transactions. Ten rupees represent generally much "more than a coolie's wages for a month, and if a "coolie received his wages in the form of a single "coin he would immediately exchange it for smaller "coins. We could not pay our soldiers or police "in gold coins. Payments to the opium cultivators "could not be made in gold; neither could the ryots "pay their rents in gold. There would also be a "not unreasonable dread among the common people "that gold coins might be of light weight; they "would generally be unwilling to accept them, and "for monetary purposes in ordinary life gold coins "would hardly be used. This would be the case, I "believe, even if gold coins of the value of five "rupees each were issued."

On this our author says:

"This is true and most sensible; but upon these "facts Sir David bases paragraph after paragraph "of the most curiously speculative nonsense we ever "set eyes upon. He is currency mad. The admis- "sions, though, in this extract are valuable helps to "a comprehension of India's real position. She is "to have a gold standard, but she cannot have gold "coins in any quantity because the people are too "poor. Silver must therefore remain the money of "the country, and the gold standard is merely an "imaginary measure to be applied in the exchange "with England. As we have already said, the "debtor is to say to the creditor, 'I will pay you "'only so much.'"

The writer shows that there might be certain nations in a position to try such an experiment, and conditions under which, owing to a redundancy of coin, it might even work innocuously. But for India, a debtor state, the attempt is preposterous, and "no "evidence is forthcoming that India is oversupplied "with coins. Silver was only brought to the mints "in accordance with the natural wants of the com- "munity. Had it been otherwise, the rise in prices "which must have followed an excessive supply of "money would long ago have crippled the power of "India to compete in foreign markets. But we know "that prices have not hurtfully risen in India. Its "export and even its import trade have expanded and "flourished exceedingly under the receding exchange, "and the falling price of silver as against gold.

"It was not to redress a domestic grievance, there- "fore, that the Indian Government demanded the "suspension of its mints, but solely to try to protect "its treasuries from the effects of the low and re- "ceding foreign exchanges, and to recoup European "officials for their losses on remitted money. But "the exchanges are entirely beyond its jurisdiction, "as it will soon find. It can no more control them "than it can restrain the tides of the ocean, and any "attempt to accomplish the impossible must recoil "disastrously on those who make it."

The writer then goes on to lay down the proposition we have already referred to, that India's difficulties are due to the gross extravagance of the administration, civil and military, but especially the latter; referring to which he remarks:

"Lord Northbrook recently declared in the House "of Lords that the British War Office had sur-

charged India in the aggregate £4,000,000 sterling on account of the abolition of purchase in the army. Not one penny of this, he justly observed, ought to have been thus charged. In the same speech, delivered on May 15th last, his lordship raised, once more, the general question of the way in which our War Office contrives to get an excessive payment from India for the British troops sent there. The Secretary of State, Lord Kimberley, admitted that these charges were probably true, but deprecated any attempt to inquire into the matter fully at present, and uttered the usual platitudes, which officials delight in, about the most anxious desire which was felt to do justice to that dependency. As a matter of fact, nothing whatever will be done, and this grievance, which has existed at least since the date of the transfer of India to the direct control of the British Crown, will be allowed to continue indefinitely, except perhaps for the application of small palliatives here and there. But it is all-important to the inquirer into the true position of Indian finance that the weight of these military charges should be brought to the front. They are most striking."

The gross outlay upon Indian military establishments, he tells us, as recently as 1885 was as low as £17,000,000.

"In the years 1887 to 1891-2 the average exceeded £21,000,000 sterling. Of these amounts, from £5,000,000 to upwards of £6,000,000 sterling has on the average been each year paid to this country for troops, stores, etc., supplied the army through our War Office.

"Another matter which requires the most serious attention of the people of this country is the growth of the indebtedness of India. All this debt, with the most insignificant exception, is held in this country, and its net amount, including the unredeemed capital of the State railways, the money spent upon irrigation works, and the war debt of India, came in 1891 to about £375,000,000 sterling, as near as we can compute it. Every year it has mounted, sometimes by small sums, sometimes by large, since the Government of this country took over the control of Indian affairs. At the same time, the 'Home charges,' as they are called, on account of pensions, holiday allowances, retiring allowances, donations, and gratuities, have also steadily increased. By how much per annum we are unable to say, because Indian statistics are extremely difficult to follow in mass or under any particular head. They are divided and sub-divided so constantly that one continually finds oneself falling into traps. For instance, in the Indian 'Statistical Abstract,' which is supplied to legislators and others in this country, we get a carefully compiled statement each year of the net charge against revenue imposed by the public debt of India, and if we confine ourselves to that item the burden would seem light; but beyond this there is the heavy incubus of the railway debt, which the Indian officials charge, in the Colonial manner, to reproductive works. In dealing, however, with the broad question of the financial position of India and her solvency, we must look upon the railway debt as part of the general burden imposed by us upon the Indian population. The whole of the interest upon the capital we have invested in India has to be paid by the surplus produce exported from India, and consequently we must add together the amounts which the Indian officials are pleased to set down as direct burdens upon the taxpayer, and the guaranteed interest, surplus profits, and and other charges, which have to be in the same way borne by the Indian people. After all, therefore, the best rough test we can get of the manner in which the load upon India has been increasing is to be found in the amount of bills drawn each year in London upon the various public treasures of India. Their annual drawings do not, of course, give the exact equivalent of the burden India has to bear, because there is the set-off, as already explained, of the new debt rai[illegible] in this country. We may assume, however, [illegible] this new debt amounts to about £3,000,000 ste[illegible] per annum, and if this average be added to [illegible] amount of the drawings of the Indian Coun[illegible] here, we can very easily follow the upward course of the cost to India in England of our control of the country. Taking merely the actual figures, and going back no further than 1870, we find that the number of rupees then required in India to pay the Home charges in sterling were 72 millions. By 1881 the total had risen to 183 millions odd, and in 1882 the total was 222 millions, owing to the extra charges imposed upon the Indian revenue by the Egyptian campaign, in which India was obliged to take part although she had no direct interest therein.

"In subsequent years the amounts varied, according to the Home borrowings, between 186 millions of rupees and 135 millions; but taking the average of years, the constant bent of these charges is upwards, and, as has been already stated, in the current year the Government will have to find £18,700,000 sterling in London. This would have meant, at the rate of exchange current before the passage of the recent rupee inflation law, a cost to India of upwards of 300 millions of rupees, or more than one-third of the entire gross revenue of India including that from the railways.

"It is stated in the Budget minute of Sir David Barbour that the present year's increase in the sterling payments is exceptional, due in great measure to extra disbursements on account of the railways. But succeeding years, like past ones, are sure to have their exceptional outlays, and in the meantime the invarable tendency of 'Home charges' is to expand. The expansion may be masked, but it is there. Thus, in the year just closed, the Indian Government had to find in London £428,000 more on account of the Army, £123,000 more under 'Marine,' £82,000 more for superannuation allowances and pensions, and about £38,000 more for interest than in the year immediately preceding."

"Every year," we are told, "at all points, the imperative outlay of India here increases, and the amount she has to remit to this country is now unquestionably beyond her strength. It has, we

"suspect, been so these many years past, and it is "to this fact, we must repeat, more than to any fall "or fluctuation in the price of silver, that we owe "the constant downward tendency of the exchange "value of the rupee. The country has been de-"veloped too rapidly and beyond its strength."

Then after a further consideration of details into which we need not follow him, the writer thus sums up the case:

"These are some of the broad features of Indian "finance, and they surely demand the most serious "attention of all who wish well either to India or to "the interests of the capitalists at home. Obviously, "if the load we have placed upon the producing "power of India is too great, no trick of currency, "no attempt to give a false value to the exchange "price of the rupee, as against gold, will have more "than the most temporary influence upon the course "of events. No device, in short, can get over the "great cardinal fact that India must now find, "unless she borrows here largely, seventeen to "twenty millions sterling per annum, for which she "gets no direct return whatever. In attempting to "fix the value of the silver rupee as against gold, "the theorists who have plunged India into the "vortex of an economic revolution, based their "action upon some such argument as this: "Grant "'that India has to find seventeen to twenty "'millions sterling per annum in London for "'Government expenses, interest on capital, and so "'forth, the records of her trade show that her "'exports in recent years have been still large "'enough to permit her to import from ten to "'twelve millions of silver over and above her "'imports of goods. Therefore,' they said, 'if we "'can force the owners of this silver to take gold "'instead and to come to us for silver, we shall be "'in a position to control the value of the rupee, if "'not to establish a gold standard in actual fact. "'We shall sell them silver at our price for the "'gold they are compelled to import from Europe.' "We have seldom seen reasoning more fallacious, "and never came across anything that betrayed a "more absolute indifference to what befell either "Indian trade, or the bulk of the Indian population. "Plainly, if this device were to succeed, it would "have the effect of heavily fining the Indian popu-"lation at large, and compelling every debtor—and "India is a land of debtors—to liquidate his debt at "a greater cost to himself than he had to bear when "he could buy his silver in the open market.

"The raising of the exchange value of the rupee "to an artificial level would, if successful, have the "tendency to force down the price of produce, and "would compel the unfortunate cultivator at one and "the same time to sell cheap and buy dear. Seeing "how slender his resources are, as acknowledged in "the extract we have given above from Sir David "Barbour's minute on the 'Gold Standard without "'Gold Coins' lunacy, and seeing how firmly he "is already held in the grip of the native usurer, "this trick amounts to shameful cruelty towards the "millions on whose backs our Empire rests.

"As regards the effects of this artificial elevation "of the silver rupee upon Indian trade, it is plain "that, if successful, it will have the effect of check-"ing the exports of India and increasing the imports, "not of precious metals, but of goods. The com-"plaint of Lancashire manufacturers has all along "been that the fall in the exchange shut them out "from Indian markets with their cotton goods, and "not only so, but increased the power of Indian "weavers of cotton to undersell them in the markets "of China and the East generally. Raise the value "of the rupee on the exchange market and this force "is reversed; the power of the Indian producer, "whether of woven materials or of wheat, cotton, "indigo, tea, or rice, to compete is lessened, and the "power of Lancashire, and of China, Siam, and "Java to compete against India is increased. Conse-"quently, the natural effect of the maintenance of "the exchange at a value, no matter whether high "or low, above its natural one is to cripple the "power of the native in India to provide the means "required by the Indian Government to meet its "heavy obligations in London, to dry up his tax-"paying capacity, and to throw him more than ever "into the hands of the worthless native money-"lender. Therefore, the result must be the reduction "in the surplus hitherto going back to India in the "shape of silver, and an increased pressure of the "Indian Council drafts upon the London market. "In proportion as the margin widens against the "native producer, the difficulties of the Indian "Government will increase, and the ultimate conse-"quence must be a sharp, severe and irredeemable "decline in the now artificially enhanced exchange.

We are much afraid that this pessimistic view is far nearer the truth than the optimistic one adopted by the Indian officials. Of all questions, this was one requiring the fullest consideration by all the thinking non-official members of the vast Indian community numbering (for the populations of all the Native States are really equally interested in the momentous steps taken) some 300 millions. It was a question that should have been threshed out for a whole year at least in the clear light of public opinion, every class or section, European and Indian, having the opportunity of considering how its interests would be affected by, and of expressing through its leaders or representatives its views in regard to, this portentous measure—a measure on which the entire material prosperity of the whole Empire might not improbably hinge.

But what are the facts? On the extreme limits of the Empire, 8,000 feet above the sea level, in the heart of sparsely populated mountains, served only by old fashion roads, without consulting any one of the hundreds of thousands more competent to deal with the question than themselves, without a hint to the public of the pranks they were about to play—half a dozen or so elderly gentlemen (we had almost written old women), none of them conspicuous for financial capacity, and two or three of them notoriously wanting in all capacities, sitting in secret conclave, settle the whole thing off in an afternoon, quite proud, it would seem, of being able to astound not only India, but the whole civilised world next

morning by proving that, however ignorant and incompetent, they at least still retained their true British courage, and if not able to *do* much were yet ready to *dare* greatly.

What is to keep an Empire thus governed from ruin? Nothing, it appears to us; and for the existing state of affairs there is but one remedy. Give the huge educated section of the community in India, European and Indian, a real representation, and allow no Viceroy or official gang to act in any important matter outside military affairs in opposition to a majority of the Chamber of Representatives without referring the matter to the House of Commons.

In representation—in transferring to the representatives of the people the substance of the power now so grossly abused by a small and despotic group of permanent, and in practice wholly irresponsible, officials; and in doing this, and speedily, lies the sole hope of preserving that Empire which has been called, and justly so, the brightest jewel in the British Diadem. Δ

Reviews.

FRONTIER WAR AND TRAVEL.

Where Three Empires meet, a narrative of recent travel in Kashmir, Western Tibet, Gilgit, and the adjoining countries. By E. F. Knight. (London: Longmans and Co. Price 18s.)

It is not often that an explorer has the opportunity to play the part of a war correspondent. Mr. Knight, like other travellers in Central Asia, went forth to visit the strange lands which lie beyond India behind the Himalayas, and he had the good fortune to be present at one of the most interesting of the little wars which are constantly being waged along the line of the India frontier. His presence was fortunate both for himself and for the soldiers whose exploits he witnessed. His account of the Hunza-Nagar campaign of 1891 differentiates his book from ordinary volumes of travel, while the men employed on active service have had their deeds described by a competent chronicler instead of being left in the arid details of an official despatch. Mr. Knight deserves to be regarded as a traveller, special war correspondent, and politician. His book will be found to be lively and entertaining reading by the general reader, but a few words must be devoted here to considering it from the other points of view.

Mr. Knight cannot rank as one of those daring explorers who have, of recent years, been solving the geographical mysteries of Central Asia. He himself makes no claim to be ranked with the Russian and English officers who have done such splendid work in the great highlands of Asia. He has not attempted to rival the fame of Prejevalski or Younghusband, or of his friend, Captain Bower, whom he accompanied as far as Leh and whose departure he witnessed into the unknown borders of Tibet. But though he made no important geographical discoveries himself Mr. Knight has written the most amusing and interesting description of the curious country of Ladakh in the English language. Many great travellers seem to have neither the eyes to perceive nor the literary faculty to describe the new and strange people and countries which they have visited. Mr. Knight has both qualities and his book possesses a permanent value in spite of its not being a pioneer volume. He also persistently, and in spite of accidents and trouble, took his camera with him whithersoever he wandered, and the illustrations which are reproduced from the photographs which he took upon the spot form not the least valuable part of his volume. Now that Mr. Knight has shown what can be done with the aid of photography it is to be hoped that the fancy pictures which deface most books of travel will speedily be superseded.

Mr. Knight's travels which he has so intelligently described and illustrated commenced with a journey in company with Captain Bower from Srinagar, the capital of Kashmir, to Leh, the capital of Ladakh. As Captain Bower was travelling with the express permission and encouragement of the Kashmir State the chief difficulties to be surmounted were those of weather and physical conditions which were serious enough to have checked any but the most intrepid travellers. The villagers on the way rendered every assistance in their power. The journey is vividly described and the character of the desolate, rainless country is eloquently portrayed. Mr. Knight spent some time in Leh and visited the Mystery Play or Devil Dance at the Buddhist monastry of Himis, of which he gives several striking illustrations. After taking leave of Captain Bower, Mr. Knight made his way by an unfrequented road from Leh to Skardo and Astor. In this journey his attendant was a Kashmiri who could not speak English and with whom the traveller had to converse in a sort of mixed language. It was accomplished on foot, as the road was impracticable for horses, and from a geographical point of view forms the most important part of Mr. Knight's travels. From Astor he made his way to Gilgit, the frontier outpost of the Kashmir State, where he made friends with the English officers of the Gilgit Agency, and then returned by way of the terrible Borzil Pass to Srinagar.

The adventurous traveller soon learnt that there was a probability of fighting in the neighbourhood of Gilgit, and with all speed made his way back to the scene of operations. There were too few Englishmen in that distant quarter to allow of his being a mere spectator. He was therefore placed in command, first of a body of Pathan road makers, and afterwards of some of the Kashmir Imperial Service troops. It was now that he had an opportunity of seeing the whole of the Hunza-Nagar Campaign, which was fought out in the winter of 1891. Possessing as he does considerable literary power, Mr. Knight has given a fascinating description of this little frontier war. There have been many other frontier wars, but none of them so far have had such an eloquent chronicler. It is only to be feared that, owing to Mr. Knight's ability, too much may be made of the Hunza-Nagar Campaign—that English people will forget that similar little wars, carried out

with equal pluck and resolution, are of yearly occurrence on the Indian frontiers. It is not possible to summarize the events of the campaign in a short review. Those who are fond of military history and wish to understand the circumstances under which frontier campaigns are conducted in India must read Mr. Knight's book for themselves. He has shown himself an adept in the difficult art of describing military operations so as to be intelligible to non-military readers, and Mr. Archibald Forbes must look to his laurels in the next great war. The description of the capture of Nilt fort, of the eighteen days leaguer before the *Sangas* of the enemy, of the daring manner in which those *Sangas* were turned, and of the final occupation of Nagar and Hunza is worthy of the pen of the prince of war correspondents. The only point to which attention should be strongly drawn is that all the soldiers employed were Gurkhas, Sikhs, and Dogras, who were led by English officers, and that there was no admixture of English troops, without whose assistance it is commonly asserted that Native troops will not fight. Indeed, Mr. Knight gives much of the credit for the victory of 20th December, 1891, to the "perseverance and heroism" of a Dogra soldier named Nagdu. (p. 410.)

As a politician Mr. Knight belongs frankly to what may be called the Kipling school. He is overwhelmed with admiration for the pluck of the British subaltern and the wisdom of the British civilian. He considers that the British Empire in India is the most beneficent of institutions, and that it exists only for the good of the Indian peoples. His political creed is simple, and he has made no attempt to examine the various objections which have been raised to the rigidity of the British Indian system. But as he hurried straight from Bombay to Kashmir he had no opportunity of studying the working of the Indian Government except in Kashmir. He has not a word to say about the very questionable proceedings which led the British interference in the Kashmir State, and he is not to be blamed for this reticence. The truth is that the Government of India, pressed on by fear of Russian intrigues in Central Asia believed it necessary to assume the entire control of the Kashmir State. Instead of frankly confessing its aims it took a tortuous fashion of encompassing them, which has given rise to much apprehension among the natives of the Punjab. But however blameworthy may have been the steps taken to establish its power in Kashmir, or however illusory may have been the motives which inspired it the Government of India is, according to Mr. Knight, doing its duty in dealing with the administration of the State. Strenuous efforts are being made to abolish, or at any rate to equalize the pressure of forced labour. Mr. Knight is eloquent upon the evils of this horrible system, and declares that the service rendered by the English authorities in making a proper military road and organizing transport to Gilgit will do away with the former horrors of the Gilgit road.

In conclusion, as we are likely to hear a great deal more in the future about Gilgit, Chitral, and Chilas owing to the belief that Russian aggression is imminent in that region, it is as well that the English newspaper reader should have some knowledge of this distant frontier, and he cannot have a more pleasant guide to follow and to study than Mr. E. F. Knight.

A NEW GUIDE TO AGRA.

The Traveller's Guide to Agra, containing an account of the Past History, the Antiquities, and the Principal Sights of Agra, together with some information about Agra as it is. By SATYA CHANDRA MUKERJI, M.A., B.L. (Delhi: Sen and Co. Price Two Rupees.)

No city in India is more often visited by the tourist in the East than Agra, the city of the Taj Mahal. Its famous architectural remains have been reproduced for European eyes by every process of illustration, and are familiar to those who have only a slight knowledge of India. No city better deserves a carefully written guide book; and Mr. Satya Chandra Mukerji has done a good piece of work in the volume which he has just published.

He begins with a history of the city, the Imperial home of Akbar and Shah Jahan, a history closely bound up with the lives of the greatest of the Mughal emperors. This portion of his account is necessarily founded on the regular authorities for the history of the Muhammadan power in India, and makes no pretension to original work. But it is clearly and pleasantly written. But when Mr. Mukerji comes to the period of the Mutiny of 1857, he is enabled to give a little new information derived from Munshi Jagan Prashad, of the Agra Bar, Vice-Chairman of the Agra Municipality, son of Munshi Rájá Ram, who was Tehsildar of Khandauli at the time. The story of the Mutiny at Agra is indissolubly connected with the name of Mr. Colvin, who held the city and died there on September 9th, 1857, and the episode well deserves to have a little more light thrown upon it than is given in the more comprehensive histories of the Mutiny. It was at that time the administrative capital of the North-Western Provinces, but it lost that rank in 1868, when the headquarters of the Provincial Government was removed to Allahábád. "Agra then," says Mr. Mukerji, "dwindled down to the position of a mere provincial "town, and its prosperity gradually declined." "However," he concludes this portion of his work, "Agra has become of late years a large railway "centre, and its commercial prosperity seems to "be reviving."

After this sketch of the history of the city, Mr. Mukerji devotes himself to a careful description of the buildings, which have given Agra its lasting fame. He naturally makes free use of former descriptions, and chiefly of Fergusson's; but it is no flattery to say that there is no better short account of Agra in the English language. The author is to be commended for preferring to use Fergusson's own words, wherever he can, without paraphrasing them, and visitors who have not leisure to study or inclination to provide themselves with Fergusson's bulky books, cannot do better than read the extracts made by Mr. Mukerji. He supplements his account of Agra by a short description of the architectural remains at Sikandra and Fatehpur Sikri, which are

hardly inferior in interest to those of Agra itself, and concludes with a few details about the present condition of the District and city.

It is with especial pleasure that I notice this useful but unpretentious little volume. It is only right that Indians should take a pride in the places of interest in their own country. Too often it has been asserted with a calm air of European superiority that the people of India, and more especially the Hindus, are unable to appreciate the architectural glories of the Muhammadan period. Again and again has it been said that but for the English rule the Taj Mahal and its beautiful rivals would have been allowed to decay and go to ruin. Whatever might have been the truth in the past, it is certainly untrue in the present; for here is a cultivated Hindu gentleman writing an admirable guide book to the most famous city of the greatest Muhammadan rulers of India. Mr. Mukerji has accomplished his work admirably, and its excellence promises well for his more ambitious undertaking, *The Indian History of Our Own Times.*

Gossip.

ABOUT PERSONS AND BOOKS.

It is with great regret that we hear the news that Dr. Bhandarkar, the eminent scholar, has resigned his professorship at Poona.

Messrs. Longmans and Co. announce a reprint in three volumes of the poems of the late Lord Lytton, formerly Viceroy of India.

The Nawáb of Rámpur, the young chieftan of the famous Rohillá State, which was spared by Warren Hastings, is on his way to England.

The new edition of Sir George Chesney's "Indian "Polity" will soon be published by Messrs. Longmans and Co.

Mr. Allardyce, the author of that excellent novel of Indian life "The City of the Sun," has just published a new novel, "Balmoral: a Romance of the Queen's Country."

Dr. Bühler gives an interesting account in the *Academy* of 17 June, of the results of Dr. Führer's recent visit to Sanchi, which has led to the discovery of many important additions to the inscriptions collected by Sir Alexander Cunningham.

Mr. A. K. B. Yusuf Ali gave an interesting address, which was received with much favour, to the Cambridge Working Mens' Liberal Club on 24 May. He laid weight in it on the condition of India, and its aspirations after political liberty.

Lord Herschell, the Lord Chancellor, whose name has recently been frequently mentioned as the next Viceroy of India, announced at the recent annual dinner of the Associated Board of the Academy of Music and the College of Music, that he has never been communicated with upon the subject.

Special attention is deserved by two articles in the July number of the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, namely, one on "The Home Charges of the Indian "Government" by that true friend of India, Mr. Martin Wood, and one by Dr. Leitner on "Indians "in England and the Indian Civil Service."

Mr. G. Subrania Iyer has published at Madras, a lecture delivered by him before the Hindu Social Reform Association on "India at the Birth of "Buddhism." It is an excellent piece of work, and in these days, when so much interest is being taken in Buddhism, should meet with considerable popularity.

Mr. A. R. Hope Moncrieff, in his excellent little book "Where to go Abroad," (A. and C. Black: price 3s. 6d.) devotes several interesting pages to a description of a winter tour in India. They are full of useful hints for any one intending to spend a few months in the country, and abound in exactly the information needed by a tourist in the East.

The *Indian Antiquary* for June contains many excellent articles by Indian scholars. Special attention may be drawn to the contributions of Mr. V. Kanakasabhai Pillai, and of Mr. Taw Sein Ko, Lecturer in Burmese at Cambridge, and to a review by Mr. Grierson, the eminent scholar, on Mr. A. A. Macdonell's Sanskrit Dictionary.

The Prix Decennial of 20,000 francs (£800) awarded by the *Académie des Inscriptions* every ten years has been voted to the celebrated scholar, M. Jules Darmesteter, who is well and favourably known in India, for his excellent work *Les Chants populaires des Afghans* and his arduous labours upon the *Zend Avesta.*

The third and concluding volume of M. Jules Darmesteter's monumental edition of the *Zend-Avesta* is just published (Paris: Leroux.). There is an excellent review of the whole work, written by a most competent authority, Mr. S. A. Strong, Lecturer on Assyriology at Cambridge, in the *Academy* of 17th June.

One of the most remarkable works of the late Mr. F. S. Growse, C.I.E., whose recent death is generally lamented, was an excellent translation of the Ramáyaná of Tulsi Das into English prose. The Hindi version of the celebrated epic, which was written by Tulsi Das is, in the words of Mr. Griffiths, "more popular "and more honoured by the people of the North-"Western Provinces than the Bible is by correspond-"ing classes in England." I can cordially recommend the cheap edition, in three volumes, of Mr. Growse's translation, which is published by Pandit Kimdan Lal, Fatehgarh, North West Provinces, at the low

price of three rupees, excluding postage, and I trust it may have a sale in England as well as in India.

PART i., of vol. vi., of the *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie* is occupied by the third and concluding portion of Dr. W. Svoboda's monograph on the peoples of the Nicobar Archipelago, with illustrations of their canoes, their ideography (in respect of which there appears to be a greater artistic development in the central island than in the southern), their tomb ornaments, yearly commemorations of the dead, fire festivals, votive tablets, etc. The three articles are adorned with nine coloured plates, containing many spirited drawings by the author, exemplifying the people and their customs, and form a complete *résumé* of our knowledge of the inhabitants of the islands as derived from the researches of Mr. Man, Mr. Distant and others.

A SHORT notice of Mr. Deighton's annotated edition of Macaulay's famous essay on Warren Hastings, in the *Academy* for 8th July contains some curious and interesting remarks on points which have hitherto escaped notice: "Twice in his essay on "Warren Hastings, Macaulay plagiarises from his "own 'Lays of Ancient Rome,' written earlier, "though not yet published. We subjoin the prose "passages only, assuming that the corresponding "verses will be in the minds of all our readers. In "his description of Haidar Ali's devastation of the "Carnatic, he says: 'The English inhabitants of "'Madras could already see by night, from the top "'of Mount St. Thomas, the *eastern* sky reddened by "'a vast semicircle of blazing villages.' And again, "when depicting Indian scenes as vividly present to "to the imagination of Burke, he talks of: 'The "'bazars humming like bee-hives with the crowd of "'buyers and sellers.' The first quotation embodies "an odd misprint, which has never been corrected. "Macaulay had visited Madras; but it needs no "topographical knowledge to realise that blazing "villages inland would not be best seen by looking "seaward."

Attention has lately been drawn to the excellence of the carbolic or phenol disinfectant preparations of Messrs. F. C. Calvert and Co. of Bradford, Manchester. They comprise soap, dentifrice, medicine, and disinfecting powder. They are specially prepared for hot climates, and have a large and increasing sale in India, where the highest authorities recommend them. Dr. F. J. Mouat, late Inspector-General of Prisons in Bengal and formerly Professor of Medicine in the Medical College of Calcutta, speaks highly of them, and Sir Joseph Fayrer, K.C.S.I., the famous Anglo-Indian physician, has always insisted on the importance of carbolic acid in an Indian household. "Carbolic acid," he says, "is most deadly and disagreeable to serpents, and "its application to walls, timber, and apertures, by "which they effect entry into a house, would be "useful in keeping them at a distance, and as a "means of getting rid of them where they have "taken possession." No better preparations of carbolic acid have yet been invented than those of Messrs. Calvert and Co.

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